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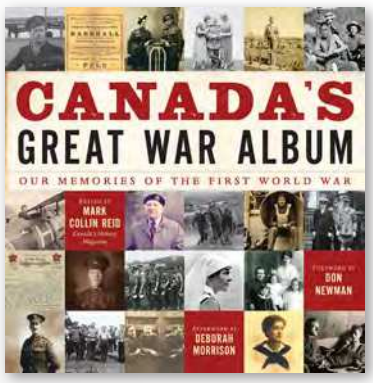

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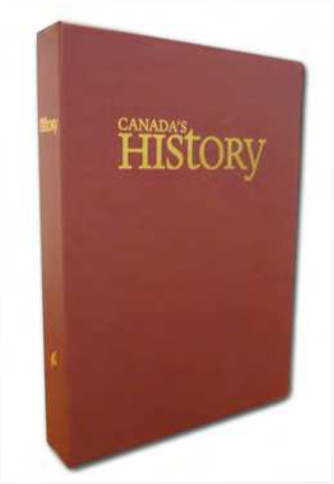

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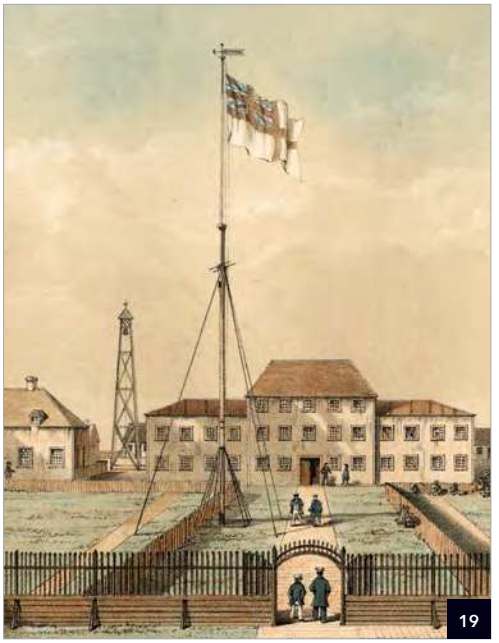
CONTRIBUTORS

Dimitry Anastakis wrote "Car Nation." He is the L.R. Wilson/R.J. Currie Chair in Canadian Business History at the University of Toronto in the Department of History and the Rotman School of Management, where he teaches about business, the state and politics, and globalization, particularly in the post-1945 period in Canada. His next book is *Dream Car: Malcolm Bricklin, his Fantastic Safety-Vehicle 1, and the End of Industrial Modernity.*

Sylvia D. Hamilton is the author of "Think on Me." Hamilton is an award-winning Nova Scotian multidisciplinary artist known for the documentaries *Portia White: Think on Me*, *The Little Black School House*, and *Black Mother Black Daughter*, among others. Her poetry collection, *And I Alone Escaped to Tell You*, was a finalist for the Nova Scotia Masterworks Award and a League of Canadian Poets Award. She is the recipient of the 2019 Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award.



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Sydney Lockhart wrote "First in Her Class." She is a Manitoba-based journalist who reports for rural newspapers such as the *Stonewall Teulon Tribune*, the *Selkirk Record*, and *Express Weekly News*. Lockhart is a recent graduate of the Creative Communications program at Red River College and is finishing her B.A. in rhetoric, writing, and communications at the University of Winnipeg. She is distantly related to Grace Annie Lockhart, the subject of her article.

Clive Webb is the author of "Laird on the Lam." Webb is a professor of modern American history at the University of Sussex in England. He has written widely on the history of race and ethnicity and is currently working on a book about mob violence against foreign nationals, including Canadians, in the United States.

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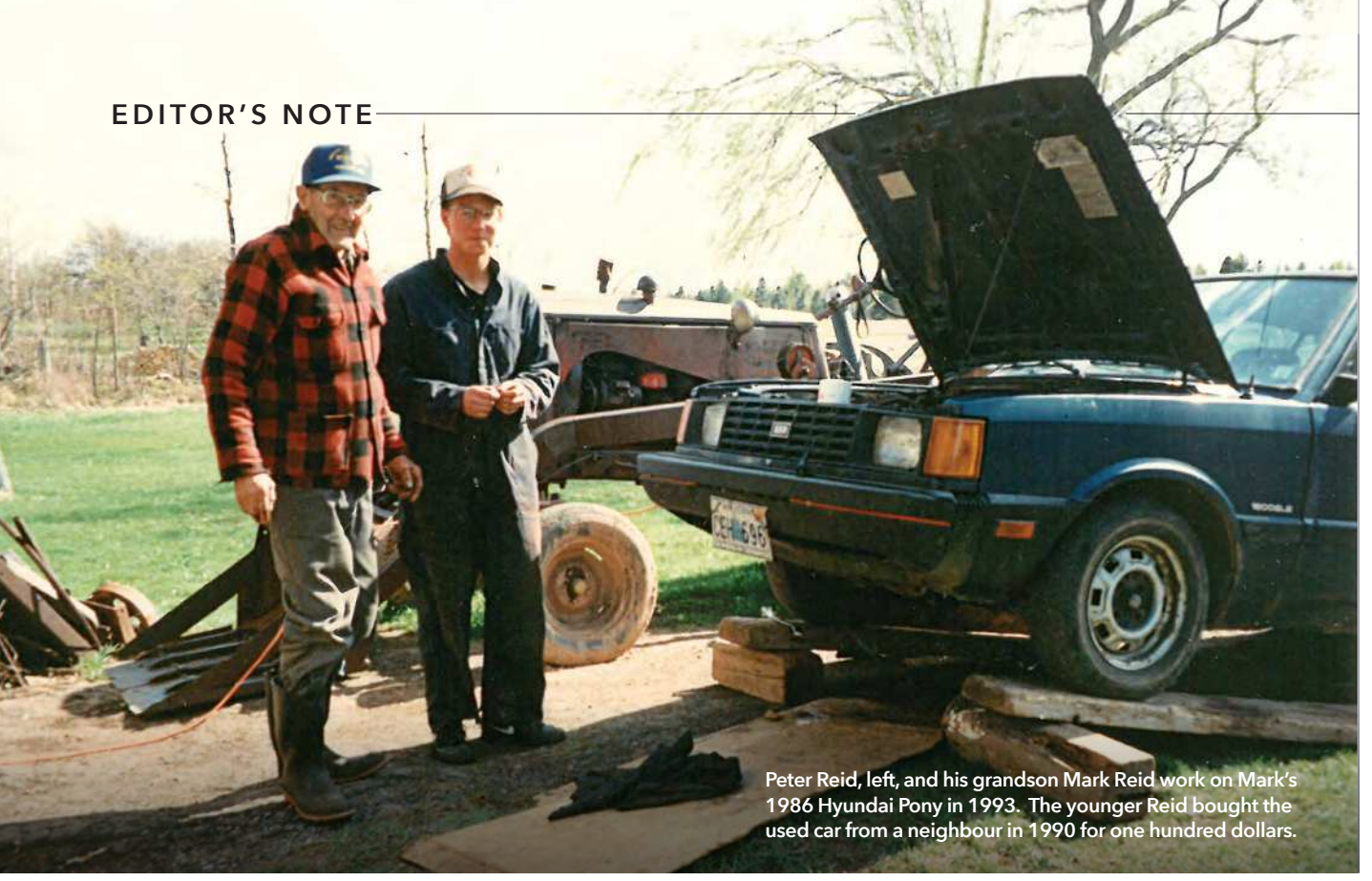

Peter Reid, left, and his grandson Mark Reid work on Mark's 1986 Hyundai Pony in 1993. The younger Reid bought the used car from a neighbour in 1990 for one hundred dollars.

Memories of the Pony express

I remember it like it was yesterday: standing in my neighbour's gravel driveway, haggling with him over the price of his rusted blue Hyundai Pony.

"How much do you want for it?" I asked trepidatiously.

"How much is it worth to you?" my neighbour deadpanned.

"I dunno," eighteen-year-old me mumbled. "How much are you willing to take?"

"How much do you have?" he responded.

The pressure was on. "Um ... ah ... one hundred dollars?!?" I blurted.

"Done," he said. And, just like that, I was suddenly the proud owner of an immobile import with a hole in the floor so big, hay had grown up through the gap.

Undaunted, I returned home beaming. Soon I was back, with my grandpa in tow. Hooking the Hyundai by chain to Grandpa's Massey Harris tractor, we pulled the Pony back to our barn.

Weeks passed as Grandpa and I worked on that old jalopy — patching holes, replacing parts. Actually, my grandpa did the work. I mostly passed him tools.

Finally, the day came for the Pony to leave its corral. With Grandpa watching stoically, and with my granny peeking from her kitchen window, I inserted the key into the ignition. A single chug sputtered into three, and suddenly, with a belch of exhaust fumes, my liberator roared to life. Elation! No longer would driving be contingent upon parental permissions.

With Grandpa grinning and Granny cheering, I guided my chariot out of their yard. My future was an open road — and destiny was my destination.

I've seen a lot of kilometres since then, both literally and figuratively. But nothing has dimmed the memories of my first car. I suspect that many readers will share this sentiment. Since their invention in the late 1800s, automobiles have helped to define the lives of generations of Canadians.

In "Car Nation," historian Dimitry Anastakis explores our automotive love affair — and he asks whether the honeymoon may soon be over thanks to rising greenhouse-gas emissions.

Elsewhere in this issue, we explore the legacies of two groundbreaking women: African-Canadian contralto Portia White, who wowed international audiences during the early twentieth century, and Grace Annie Lockhart, the first woman in the British Empire to earn a bachelor's degree. Finally, we spare a few pages for the scandalous tale of a Scottish scammer who almost sparked a war between Manitoba and Minnesota.

As for my poor old Pony? I put it out to pasture years ago. Today it's likely rusting in some forgotten junkyard, grass growing once more through its floor. But in my mind's eye it's gleaming. Frozen in time, it is forever tied with memories of my grandpa, who passed away twenty-five years ago. And what I wouldn't give to turn back life's odometer and spend just one more afternoon with him, tinkering on that old car.

Mark Reid

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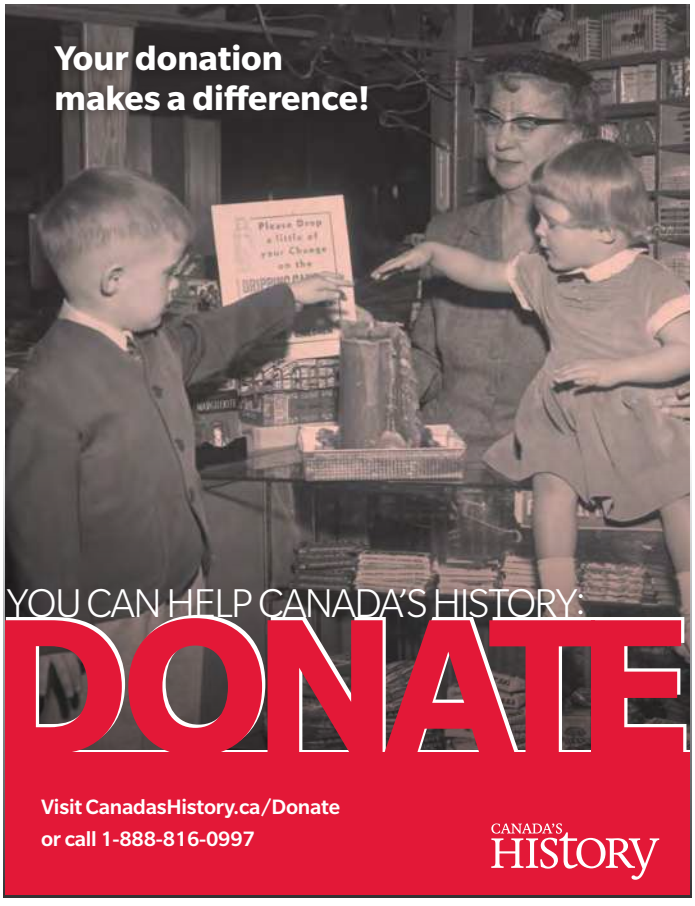

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Great Canadian

Robert Thomas Riley

When my copy of *Canada's History* arrives in the mail, all other reading is put aside while I enjoy the contents. Meeting Robert Thomas Riley in the October-November 2021 issue ["Life of Riley," by Susan Riley] was an extra-special and heartwarming read.

I wish to extend my grateful thanks to Susan Riley and her cousin Nancy for sharing how the memorable and honourable life of her great-grandfather has continued through generations of this remarkable man's descendants. How truly special it must be for all their extended family to be related to such a noble man who contributed so much to his community and country.

I'm sure I am not alone with my feelings of gratitude as we have been able to meet and discover the contributions of another remarkable Canadian.

Jean McGinley
Innisfil, Ontario

POW story prompts memories

While reading "Barbed Wire Ballads" in the October-November 2021 issue of *Canada's History*, I was reminded of my early childhood in southern Alberta.

One incident that is still clear in my mind is the memory, when I was a six-year-old, of riding with my uncle, who was taking a load of coal to Internment Camp 133 in Lethbridge, Alberta.

I also recall him getting a ship in a bottle that had been made by a POW and admiring it many years later. At that time my grandfather also had POWs working in his potato field and possibly also in his sugar beet fields.

I do not recall if they were paid, but I am certain that one of my aunts would have fed them well.

Brian Preston
Portland, Ontario

Editor's note: Internment Camp 133, established in November 1942, was the second-largest POW camp in North America during the Second World War, housing more than thirteen thousand German prisoners.

Heartstrings

I thoroughly enjoy reading *Canada's History*. Your October-November 2021 article "Barbed Wire Ballads" was of great interest, as it related to music playing a part in bolstering soldiers' spirits in the Second World War.

Let us not forget the lowly banjo, which played a part in raising the spirits of First World War soldiers serving in the British Army, including those of my paternal grandfather, who migrated to Canada in 1916.

When Victoria Day arrives each May, my late grandfather James Melbourne comes to mind, as he was part of the Albert E. Swadkin's Banjo and Mandolin Orchestra. Upon request the group had played on the London stage for Queen Victoria.

Diane Unger
Cooks Creek, Manitoba

Recognized at last

It is refreshing to read the other side of the history of the Yukon Gold Rush of 1897–98 ["Reconsidering the Gold Rush," by Charlotte Gray, August-September 2021].

Chief Isaac's story is finally being recognized. One wonders how he could alone take on the early government authority in the territory in 1896–97.

Pat Ellis
Whitehorse, Yukon

Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

Genealogy after death

Have you inherited someone's family-history files? Here's how to avoid tossing them all in the dumpster. *by Paul Jones*

Several times a year, I'm approached by someone who's been tasked by family members with organizing the genealogical research of a recently deceased parent or other elderly relative. "We know you're interested in this sort of thing."

Ideally, the deceased would have arranged for a genealogical executor. Expectations would have been discussed; the arrangements would have been recorded in a directive to the executor of the estate. This directive would also have made provision to fund elements of the plan, such as the costs of publishing a family history. Contingency might also be made for compensation of the genealogical executor if the workload were to exceed the duty owed to kinship.

Ideally! In reality, most genealogists make no such arrangements, and the unlucky family member tasked with cleaning up the mess is typically confronted with a jumble of binders, scrapbooks, and storage boxes, as well as who knows what on hard disks and in the cloud.

One solution: Rent a dumpster. Seriously. If the deceased had so little regard for the future of the research, why should anyone else care about the work?

No one cares today, perhaps, but who can predict what might change? If you don't have the time to wreak order today, perhaps you'll feel differently — or someone else will — in a few years. I would buy time by securing the safe storage of paperwork, photos, artifacts, hard disks, DNA tests, and online accounts and passwords.

Let's suppose the time to act finally arrives. What should be your priorities?

You'll need to confront harsh realities. Unless your deceased relative was a notable person, few libraries or archives will be interested in acquiring unedited papers, genealogical or otherwise.

In addition, most repositories will be leery of accepting contributions of questionable provenance that might infringe on copyright, disregard the privacy of living people, or contain photocopies of material housed in other archives — and they'll be reluctant to assign staff to review and to resolve these issues, unless your collection significantly advances their mission.

Ideally — there's that word again — someone would adapt the research into one or more family histories that you could self-publish for posterity. (Many commercial companies can guide you through this process.) Copies of the completed history, whether paper or electronic, could go to family members, Library and Archives Canada (legal deposit), the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah, and libraries, archives, and societies (genealogical and historical) in the geographical areas of greatest relevance to the research (not necessarily where the deceased lived).

If nobody is willing to undertake the effort to prepare a publishable family history, the next-best option is to extract a family tree from the research and to offer it, initially via a summary, to heritage organizations in the geographical areas covered by the research.

Be aware that every community is different in its mix of governmental and not-for-profit organizations, as well as in their mandates and priorities. Some will prefer citations rather than supporting documentation.

Be prepared for sit-down meetings (via Zoom these days) to discuss your prospective contributions.

You might also post the tree online via the likes of Geni.com, One World Tree (FamilySearch.org), WikiTree.com, or Ancestry.ca.

Artifacts and photos of historical significance, especially if they feature named people or known locations, or if they illustrate a locally significant event or activity, may interest a municipal or regional archive or museum.

In any case, all old photos should be scanned and distributed to each branch of the family.

Anything still unaccounted for after this process is likely to be expendable, although you should conduct one final review to ensure that nothing unique or irreplaceable is about to be dumped.

All in all, things would be much simpler if family historians didn't trust in the posthumous goodwill of others and instead heeded the much-repeated and oft-ignored mantra — "Publish before you perish."

Paul Jones, a retired publisher, is a writer, a consultant, and an avid genealogist.

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Curious cartography

Did French forces in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Nova Scotia conspire to keep a tiny fishing village a secret? *by Mark C. Reid*

Sometimes it's what a map doesn't show that tells the tale.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, maps of Nova Scotia neglected to include the location of Pugwash, which today is a rustic fishing village of around seven hundred people located on the province's north shore.

It's possible that cartographers believed the settlement was simply not worth mentioning. Maybe it was an oversight. Or was it something else?

A local historian believes he has stumbled across a centuries-old secret that, if true, will require a rewriting of the history of French settlement in Atlantic Canada. In a new book, Stephen Leahey suggests that Pugwash was actually a major French port and a key link in a vital supply chain for Fortress Louisbourg on Île Royale (modern-day Cape Breton). He also argues that Pugwash's omission was a deliberate act of obfuscation meant to hide the port from the prying eyes – and booming cannons – of enemy British forces in the region.

"When I began to look at the maps … there was no Pugwash," Leahey said. "It made no sense. There is evidence of massive amounts of cattle and grain produced [in the Isthmus of Chignecto between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick] and shipped to Louisbourg. But no other harbour on the north shore is fit to do that. Being aware that Pugwash has a deep harbour, it just seems very difficult to believe that the French would bypass the only deep harbour they had control of on the isthmus."

The north shore of Nova Scotia is often a footnote in the larger histories of the British-French struggle for control of the region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the time, the area was controlled by the French operating out of Quebec. Sparsely populated, it was also home to several Acadian and Mi'kmaq communities. The British, meanwhile, were centred around the Bay of Fundy with Annapolis Royal as their capital. The construction of a French fortress at Louisbourg in the early 1700s further exacerbated tensions in the region between the two global powers.

In his book *Chignecto & Remsheg Prior to 1755*, Leahey

ALAMY PSTEC8

Opposite page: A 1757 map of Acadia by Jacques-Nicholas Bellin omits the location of Pugwash, Nova Scotia. The community is actually located on the coast about thirty-six kilometres west of Tatamagouche (see area marked in blue). Top: *Remsheg's Tide Mill Bridge*, 1675, by Georgette Bourgeois. The painting depicts a French tide mill that once operated in the Pugwash area. Above: Stephen Leahey at his book launch in Pugwash in August 2021.

argues that, rather than having been a "backwater," the north shore was actually home to a vital and thriving French port sometimes named in documents from the era as "Remsheg." Via this port, the French shipped large amounts of grain and livestock to feed their garrison at Louisbourg. The deep harbour was also a safe haven for French warships.

Since the British had a history of attacking French ports in what is now Atlantic Canada, Leahey argues that the French had a good reason to leave Remsheg (today's Pugwash) off their maps.

"The French preserved the secrecy of this port as they used it as a gathering point for Mi'kmaq, French, and naval forces in their struggle with the British," Leahey writes.

Elsewhere in his book, Leahey highlights new historical and archaeological evidence that he hopes will inspire historians of Atlantic Canada to reconsider the French presence – and the north shore's significance – in the larger story of the French settlement of Nova Scotia.

Leahey, who worked in corporate Canada as well as in the public sector in central and western Canada before retiring to Nova Scotia, is donating the proceeds from his book to the local Cumberland Museum Society.

TOP, LEFT: COURTESY STEPHEN LEAHEY; BOTTOM, LEFT: MARK C. REID; RIGHT: CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVES AM54-S4-: STR P428

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

The Right Stuff

At first glance, this 1921 photograph of Vancouver's Granville Street seems typical of the era: Model Ts rumble along the road as men and women in period dress saunter along the sidewalks.

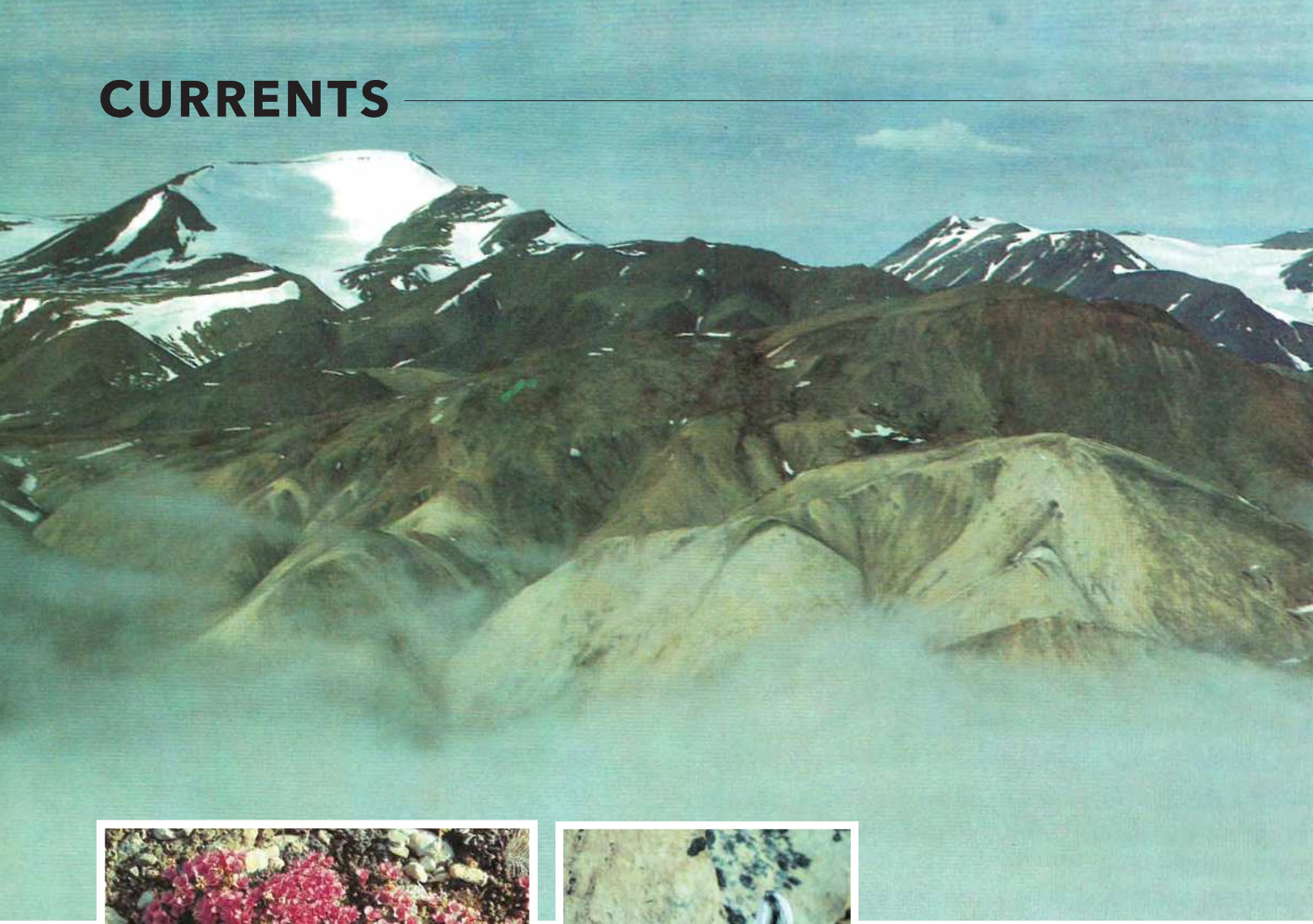
But look again. Something is … off. The cars are driving on the left side of the road.

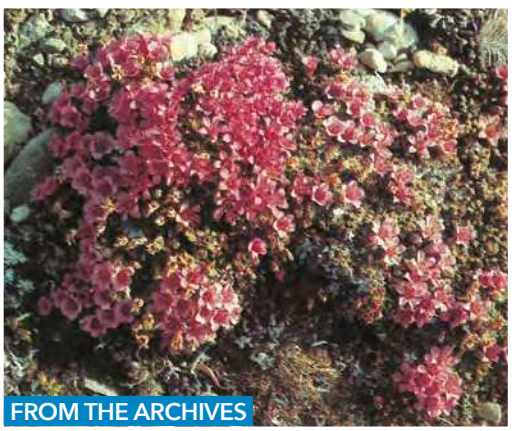
Well, what's wrong for central Canada was right – or is it left? – for British Columbia in the early years of the twentieth century. Along with the Maritime provinces, British Columbia was among the last holdouts in North America to give up the British tradition of driving on the left-hand side.

Originally, all British subjects in North America rode horses and carts on the left. However, the American colonies turned states quickly changed lanes in the late 1700s after winning their independence in the American Revolution. In New France, however, the French tradition of riding on the right prevailed, and it continued as the territory was conquered in 1760 by the British and evolved into modern-day Quebec and Ontario.

In British Columbia, the decision to move to the right was hotly debated, and the switch was made in two phases: Most of the mainland changed from left- to right-hand driving on July 15, 1920, while a region comprised of Vancouver Island and southwest British Columbia (including the city of Vancouver) switched on January 1, 1922. The latter change came into effect at 6:00 a.m. on a Sunday – a deliberate choice by the province to reduce the potential for accidents. The Maritime provinces soon followed suit: New Brunswick in December 1922, Nova Scotia in April 1923, and Prince Edward Island in May 1924. Newfoundland, which did not join Canada until 1949, drove on the left until 1947.

Granville Street in Vancouver in 1921.





FROM THE ARCHIVES

Above: Mists obscure the mountainous landscape of Axel Heiberg Island, in modern-day Nunavut, in 1976. The region is home to a rich diversity of flora, such as purple saxifage, far left, and fauna, such as the Arctic hare, left.

Thinking green in the Far North

When *The Beaver* debuted in 1920, it introduced Canadians in the south to a northern world that seemed both exotic and bursting with economic potential.

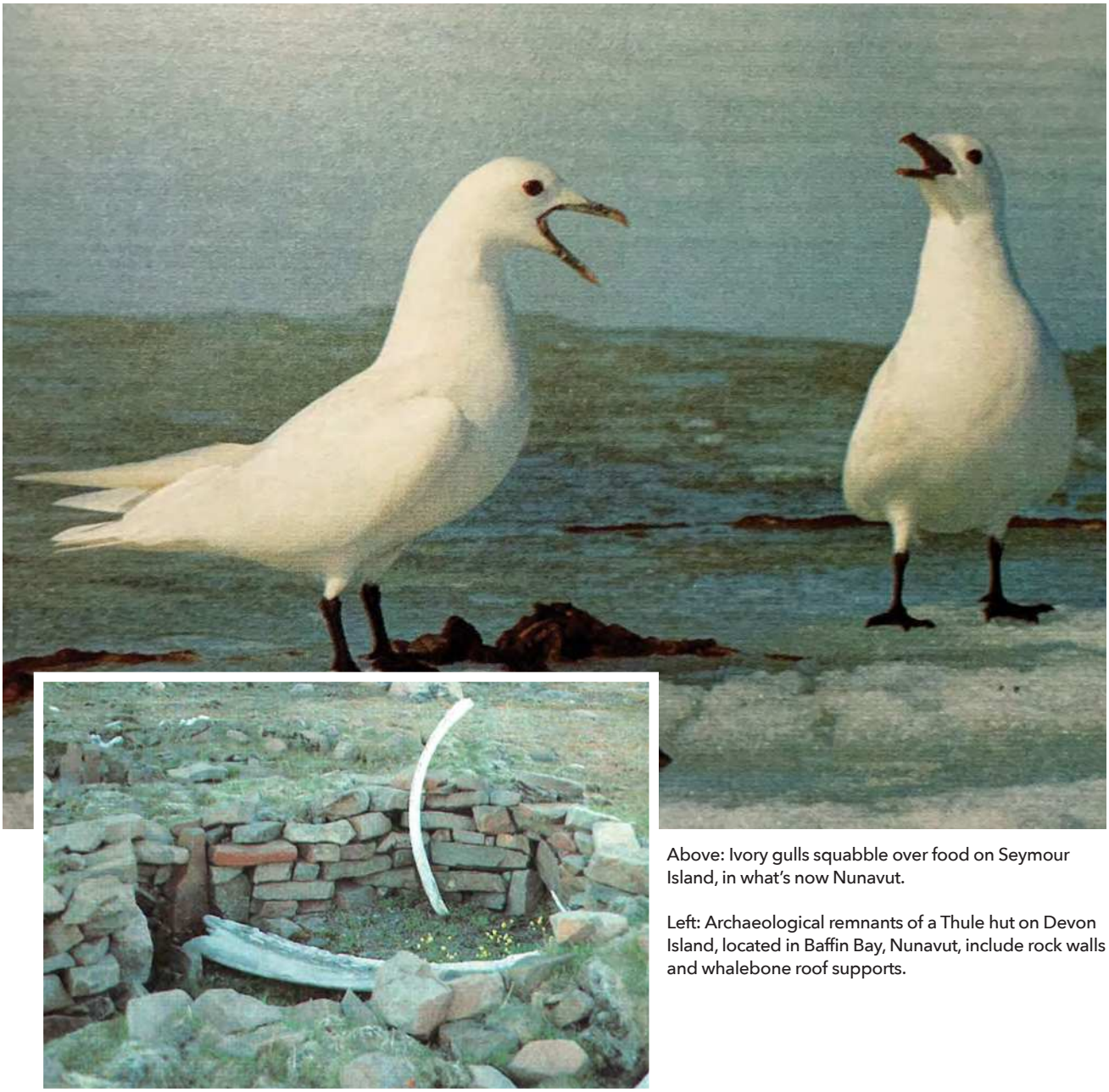
At the time, most Canadians saw the North, with its abundant wildlife and resources, as a source of wealth to be exploited. The Hudson's Bay Company – founder of *The Beaver* – had a vested interest in promoting this view, as its financial success was closely tied to harvesting beaver, mink, and other fur-bearers and selling the pelts for profit.

However, even in its early decades, *The Beaver* also published articles that admired and celebrated the fauna and flora of the region.

As decades passed, environmentalism slowly gained traction around the globe. By the 1970s, Canadians were growing increasingly concerned about protecting and preserving the country's natural areas – especially the vast landscapes of northern Canada.

This new-found concern was increasingly reflected in the pages of *The Beaver*. In the Autumn 1976 issue, the magazine published an article, "Eleven Areas of Rare Diversity in the Canadian North," by Carleton University biologist J.D.H. Lambert, that discussed the need to protect ecologically sensitive sites.

THE BEAVER AUTUMN 1976



Above: Ivory gulls squabble over food on Seymour Island, in what's now Nunavut.

Left: Archaeological remnants of a Thule hut on Devon Island, located in Baffin Bay, Nunavut, include rock walls and whalebone roof supports.

"The Canadian North contains rare plants and animals and combinations of species found nowhere else in the world," Lambert wrote. "The need for protection of these areas may not always be recognized because of the vastness of the region."

In his article, Lambert described eleven areas in need of protection, including Seymour Island, northwest of Bathurst Island in modern-day Nunavut, home to "the only known breeding site of the rare ivory gull in North America"; Expedition Fiord on Axel Heiberg Island, Nunavut, which "contains spectacular alpine and fiord scenery"; and Brooman Peninsula on Bathurst Island, home to archaeological evidence of two large Thule sites. (The Thule are the ancient ancestors of today's Inuit.)

Lambert ended his article with an urgent call for governments to work together to protect Canada's ecologically sensitive areas: "Recognition that, in certain areas, biological values outweigh all other values, must become an established consideration in the development of the North."

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, *Canada's History*, and *Kayak* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Please visit CanadasHistory.ca/Archive to read a century's worth of stories.

THE BEAVER/AUTUMN 1976

YOUR STORY

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney praised Oakville teen Janice Johnston's memorial fund for 248 U.S. paratroopers killed in a Gander, Nfld. air crash. U.S. ambassador Thomas Niles said it was 'marvelous'

'Great act of kindness'

PM praises Oakville teen's fund for U.S. troops

Left: Major General Burton Patrick of the 101st Airborne Division, Janice Nikkel (née Johnston), and businessman Frank Lockyear plant the first tree of a memorial forest at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, in 1986.

Above: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney praises Janice Johnston's "act of kindness" in a 1986 *Hamilton Spectator* report.

Opposite page: Janice Nikkel attends a rededication ceremony in 2019 for the Arrow Air Flight 1285 memorial forest.

Flight paths

A Canadian girl's kind gesture turned into an international outpouring of support for victims of a tragic plane crash in Newfoundland. *by Janice Nikkel*

On December 12, 1985, 248 American soldiers and 8 crew members died in a plane crash in Gander, Newfoundland, on their way home from a peacekeeping mission in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula.

The crash of Arrow Air Flight 1285 remains the largest aviation disaster on Canadian soil.

When it happened I was just fifteen, living in Oakville, Ontario, and concerned mostly with school and boys. I didn't pay much attention to the news. But my mom explained that the impact of this accident was as though all the students from ten classrooms in my high school had each had someone die in their family, right before Christmas. That's what it would have been like for the families of those soldiers and the flight crew, all stationed at the same army base.

The story hit home.

I asked her what Canadians were doing to show we cared. She didn't know.

That night, I wrote a letter to the *Toronto Star*, indicating that I would like to donate my babysitting money to start a fund to plant trees as a living memorial for each soldier and crew member who died that day. That was it. I was only fifteen. What could I possibly do to make a difference?

The news wires picked it up, and TV, radio, and newspaper reporters started to call. Even my neighbours, who were visiting Mexico for Christmas, read about me while on their vacation. It was all kind of surreal.

But the turning point in my story came when Frank Lockyear – a businessman from Washington State who had replanted a memorial forest after the eruption of Mount St. Helens volcano in 1980 – heard a radio story about my quest.

The soldiers who died had been members of the 101st Airborne Division based in Fort Campbell, Kentucky. Frank contacted the division to alert them of my desire to honour their fallen comrades. The division graciously offered an acre of land on its base where we could plant the trees. Ontario-based Sheridan Nurseries generously donated and shipped 256 Canadian sugar maples to Fort Campbell.

LEFT: COURTESY JANICE NIKKEL. RIGHT: HAMILTON SPECTATOR

In September 1986, I travelled to Fort Campbell to help to dedicate this new forest. My dream of planting a living memorial for each soldier and crew member of Arrow Air Flight 1285 became a reality that day.

Following the event, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney honoured me, and I was even chosen as a junior citizen of Ontario. I greatly appreciated the accolades – but they weren't the point.

My only goal was to show our American neighbours that Canadians truly cared for their loss.

Fast-forward twenty-five years. I'm married, and my husband and I decided to take our four children to Kentucky to show our kids what their mom had been a part of as a teenager.

When we arrived at Fort Campbell, a security guard asked us the purpose of our visit. I told her I wanted to show my kids the trees I'd helped to plant twenty-five years earlier.

The guard dropped her pen, and her eyes welled up with tears. "My cousin was on that plane," she said. "Not a day goes by when I drive by those trees and don't think about him. Thank you for doing what you did."

In 2019, with some of the original trees diseased or dying, a decision was made to move the memorial forest to a larger plot of land, located nearby, to give the trees more room to grow and to thrive. I was honoured to be asked to take part in the rededication ceremony. Words can't describe the experience. It was amazing.

Visitors to the memorial forest can read a plaque that speaks to the close ties of friendship between our two nations. It reads: "Donated by the people of Canada to the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) in memory of the 248 courageous soldiers who died in Gander, Newfoundland, December 12, 1985. Each tree stands as a living memorial. The forest testifies to the united commitment to global peacekeeping. 'Blessed are the peacemakers' St. Matthew 5:9."

The victims of this tragedy were American, but their story is a part of Canadian history that deserves to be remembered – and honoured.

LEFT: COURTESY JANICE NIKKEL. RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-127295

MOMENT

Shattering the glass ceiling

On December 6, 1921, Ontario's Agnes Macphail became the first woman elected to the House of Commons. Her presence in Parliament shattered the political glass ceiling that had prevented women from having a stronger voice in the affairs of the nation. However, she also faced staunch opposition from traditionalists who rejected her calls for equality of the sexes and for social reform.

Born in 1890, Macphail grew up on a farm in Grey County, Ontario, and later worked as a teacher in both Ontario and Alberta. During that time, she grew increasingly interested in politics, and especially in agricultural co-operative movements. In 1921, she ran in the federal election under the Progressive Party banner. The Progressive Party was an offshoot of the United Farmers of Ontario, a movement turned political party that had won the provincial election in 1919.

During her time in Ottawa, Macphail received a frigid welcome from proponents of the status quo. As a champion of farmers, miners, prisoners, and women, and as a pacifist to boot, she made many enemies. Political opponents called her a "communist" and worse.

Perhaps her best-known accomplishment was leading the charge to reform Canada's penal system to make it more humane to prisoners. In 1929 she became the first woman delegate to the League of Nations, the precursor to today's United Nations.

In 1930, Macphail became a founding member of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the forerunner of today's New Democratic Party. After losing her federal seat in 1940, she transitioned to provincial politics and served two terms in the Ontario Legislative Assembly. Her other accomplishments included the co-founding of the Toronto branch of the Elizabeth Fry Society, which advocates on the behalf of female prisoners, and the passage of Ontario's first equal-pay legislation.

Macphail died in 1954 at the age of sixty-three.

– M.C. Reid

Agnes Macphail in Ottawa circa 1921.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

The weather vane is pockmarked with dents that may have resulted from its use as a target for shooting guns.

In 1853 York Factory was a busy trading centre. This illustration shows a large flagpole topped by a weather vane like the one described here.

Weather vane

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

This weather vane topped the flagpole at York Factory in northern Manitoba before being removed and donated to the Hudson's Bay Company Museum Collection in September 1958. Weather vanes indicate the direction of the wind, although they are often more decorative than functional.

This particular example may have been the unfortunate victim of target practice by HBC employees with too much time on their hands — the tail of the weather vane has several bullet holes and is pockmarked with dents.

First built in 1684, York Factory was an isolated but active HBC post. Its location on Hudson Bay at the mouth of the Hayes River was ideal for the shipment of goods in and out of Rupert's Land, making York Factory the primary HBC depot for more than two centuries. It was officially closed in 1957 and eventually became a National Historic Site operated by Parks Canada.

— Cortney Pachet, assistant curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

TOP: ARTIFACT FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 58-50) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN
BELOW: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA 2933618

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

CAR NATION

The first automobile revolution reshaped Canada in the twentieth century. Now get ready for the second.

by Dimitry Anastakis

CANADA'S LOVE AFFAIR WITH THE AUTOMOBILE GOES BACK TO THE FIRST DUSTY ATTEMPTS TO build homemade vehicles, when tinkerers such as Quebec's Henry Seth Taylor crafted one of the original steam-powered cars in 1867, the year of Confederation. In 1912, Thomas Wilby and Jack Haney generated headlines for completing Canada's first cross-country drive from Halifax to Alberni, B.C., in fifty-two days in an REO Special — though they put the car on a train from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, to Winnipeg, owing to the lack of roads. By the 1920s, when the first automobile revolution, spawned in 1908 by Henry Ford's Model T, was in full swing, Canadians had become the world's second-leading consumers and producers of motor vehicles.

Of course, not every Canadian loved cars during that first auto revolution, nor the disruption that cars caused to society. Some saw the automobile as the apocalyptic devil's wagon. In 1908, Prince Edward Islanders voted to ban motor vehicles entirely from their island, and newspapers on the island referred to cars as "terror wagons," "instruments of death," and "death dealing machines." The prohibition was not lifted until 1919, and not without great debate. Many Prince Edward Islanders felt that allowing cars would completely upend their way of life; in that, they ultimately weren't wrong.

Above left: Henry Seth Taylor, designer and builder of Canada's first automobile, circa 1875. Above right: Taylor, wearing a top hat, stands behind his steam buggy circa 1867.

Joyriding teenagers in 1949.

Without question, modernity as we know it has been defined by the automobile. Perhaps more than any other technological change in human history, the automobile has shaped not only the way we travel but the way we live, work, play, and virtually every other aspect of our daily lives.

In fact, it's likely that many of the most pivotal (and certainly some of the most mundane) moments in ordinary Canadians' lives have revolved around cars, whether they realize it or not: from birth (literally being driven to the hospital in the womb) to the coming-of-age rite of getting a driver's license; from first dates to graduation and wedding limos; from family trips all the way to that last ride to the cemetery. Though we may not want to admit it, the automobile is the vehicle by which many of us live our lives.

Moreover, the automobile has reshaped our planet in innumerable ways. Since its late-nineteenth-century emergence, for all its good and ill, the car accelerated the shift from an agricultural, pre-industrial world to the world as we know it.

Today, Canadians are in the midst of a second great automobile revolution. Just as a century ago, when the Model T utterly reshaped Canadian society by putting personal mobility and the automobile itself at the centre of modernity, a new car transformation beckons.

There are profound parallels between Canadians' first auto revolution — one whose most dramatic change occurred between 1900 and 1920 — and what Canadians will experience in the next two decades: the advent of electric vehicles (EVs) and automated vehicles (AVs), a second automobile revolution that promises to reshape the world yet again.

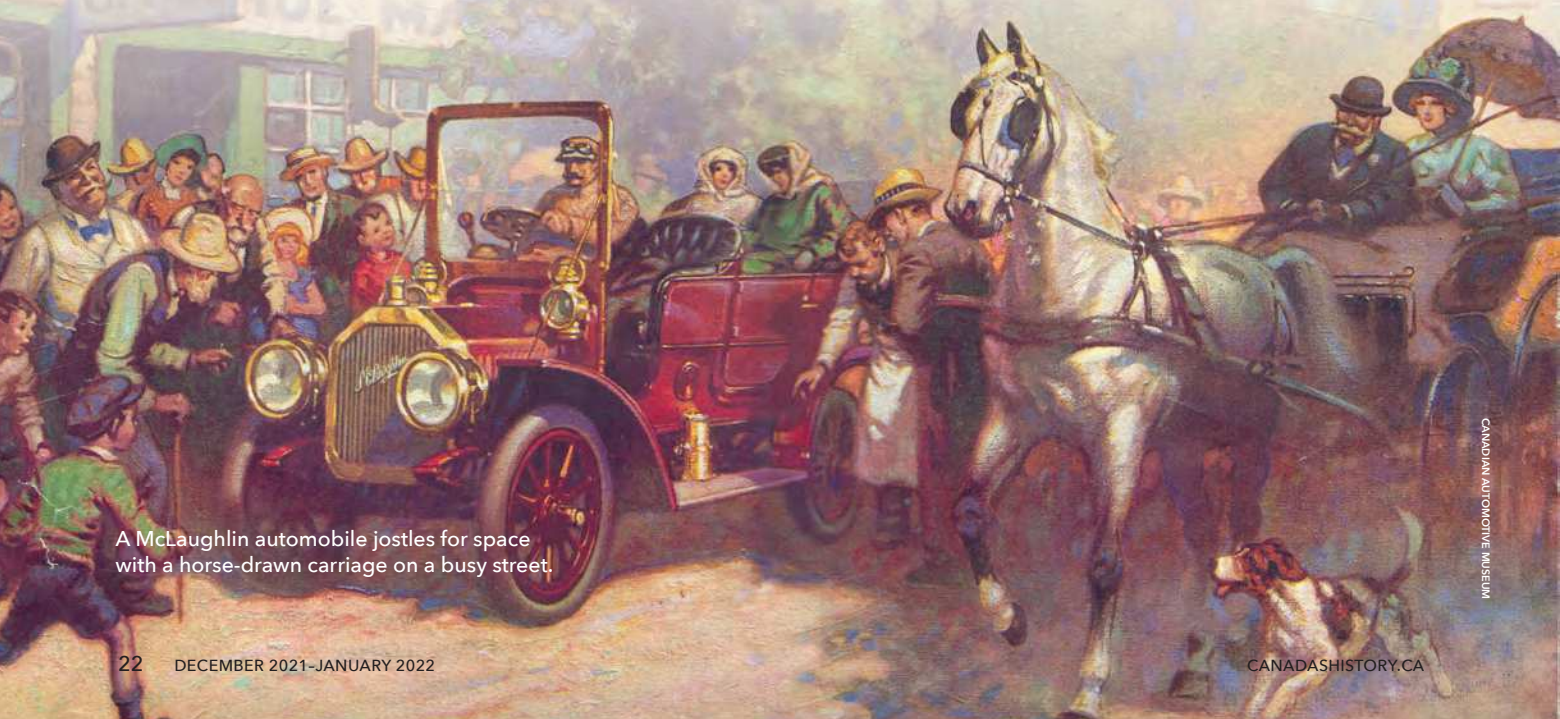
The idea of a self-propelled vehicle, one that was unbound from the constraints of horses, wind, or water, has intrigued humans for centuries. Inventors and thinkers such as Leonardo da Vinci and James Watt had envisioned or advanced the cause of mobility as far back as the fifteenth-century Italian Renaissance and the eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution.

But the notion of a "horseless carriage" really started to come into focus in the second half of the nineteenth century. By that time, technological advances in steam engines, electricity, and the internal combustion engine, along with developments in materials, business models, and the sharing of technological breakthroughs, created an environment in North America and western Europe where the race to build the first working and viable automobile accelerated quickly. Henry Seth Taylor was soon joined in Canada by hundreds of other inventors and motor enthusiasts who made technological advances that helped to shape the emergence of the automobile. No single person, company, or country can truthfully claim to have invented the automobile, although Henry Ford once provocatively proclaimed that he had "invented the modern world." Few have questioned the statement, then or since.

In the period between 1890 and 1910, there were thousands of different steam, electric, and gasoline-powered vehicles, all vying to determine how cars would function. Eventually, the gasoline-burning internal combustion engine won out in the great race to decide which technology would prevail, and its victory helps us to understand some of the dynamics of our own, second, auto revolution.

Gasoline-powered cars triumphed because the internal combustion engine generated greater power and torque than the steam or electric-powered engines of the day — important considerations in areas with punishing winters, steep hills, and few paved roads. Gasoline was also fairly easily available in the period before widespread electricity adoption, since major companies such as Imperial Oil (whose first gas station opened in Vancouver in 1907) were already supplying kerosene as a fuel for home lighting. Gas was also easily transportable and could be used to refill cars going long distances — an obstacle that posed greater challenges for vehicles powered by steam or, especially, by electricity. Battery life was short, and there were few recharging stations in the early 1900s.

The first auto revolution also entailed battles over how cars



A McLaughlin automobile jostles for space with a horse-drawn carriage on a busy street.

CANADIAN AUTOMOTIVE MUSEUM

Above: The Crump family sits in an automobile in Edmonton circa 1918. In the front seat are Bobbie (at the wheel) and Harges Crump. In the back, left to right: Flora, Ester, and Melvin Crump.

Right: Montreal's first woman driver, Merle Vachelle, drives a 1905 Maxwell Model L with a woman identified as "Nurse Ball" and, on her lap, Vachelle's half-brother Desmond Vachelle.

should be used and who should use them. There were many cultural, legal, and economic conflicts over who should own cars, who had the right to drive them, and to what extent society should accommodate these new technological marvels.

Because the first cars were so expensive, they were the playthings of the rich. In early twentieth-century Ontario, judges, politicians, and many ordinary citizens were appalled by the trouble caused by horseless carriages. In the words of Jon Powles, clerk of the Township of Fenelon, Ontario, automobiles were a "curse on the country roads" that were being driven by people who had "more money than brains."

In 1905 some Ontarians protested laws that raised the speed limit from ten to fifteen miles per hour (sixteen to twenty-four kilometres per hour), reflecting the urge to limit the most appealing aspect of cars — their speed. Eventually, however, car enthusiasts — including wealthy motorists such as John Craig Eaton (of Eaton's department store fame), "good roads" advocates such as Perry Doolittle (who was later known as the "father of the Trans-Canada Highway" for his vision of a coast-to-coast motorway), and members of the Toronto Automobile Club (which was founded in 1903 and became the Canadian Automobile Association in 1920) — won the day in pushing Canadians to accept cars.

In this early period, various controversies raged over the rules of the road. For example, British Columbians, determined to maintain their cultural ties to the mother country, drove on the left side of the road, while in central Canada everyone drove on the right. West coasters chafed at the idea of switching sides simply to conform — or, employing a more patriotic argument, to satisfy American motor tourists. A letter in the *Victoria Colonist* in 1917 argued that "it may not be a bad thing" for American drivers "to learn when they cross the line that they are no longer in the United States, and that they are under the Union Jack and that the British Columbia rule of the road is that of England." But the wave of American cars did not cease, and in 1922 British Columbians finally switched to driving on the right.

Another early issue was whether women should be licensed to drive. Since the automobile emerged during a fairly progressive era in North America, when women were fighting for and gaining the right to vote (something achieved federally in 1918), women simply would not be denied the right to drive. Such a prohibition was neither practical nor logical, given the widespread adoption and embrace of motor cars in society — in fact, early electric cars were targeted to female drivers, as they did not require the onerous cranking start-up that gasoline-powered and early steam cars required. Moreover, car companies realized that women were an important part of the suddenly booming car market, which by the 1910s was being profoundly shaped by one man in particular.

It is impossible to discuss the first automobile revolution without talking about Henry Ford. Born in Michigan in 1863, Ford was the quintessential self-made innovator, inventor, and entrepreneur. A tinkerer with little formal education, Ford was obsessed with the idea of making cars accessible to as many people as possible.

In 1904 Gordon McGregor, seeing the automobile as an alternative to his struggling Walkerville Wagon Works, crossed the Detroit River from Windsor, Ontario, to Detroit, looking for a suitable car to build in Canada. He struck a deal with Ford, who was then still relatively unknown. The Ford-

TOP: GLENBOW ARCHIVES NA-4210-1. BELOW RIGHT: POINTE-À-CALLIÈRE, CITÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE DE MONTRÉAL

McGregor agreement leapt over Canada's National Policy tariff wall, under which imported cars were taxed at thirty-five per cent, by having the American-designed Ford cars built in Canada. This also provided a launch pad for Canadian-built Fords to be sold to other parts of the British Commonwealth. Ford of Canada sparked the automobile revolution north of the border.

In 1908, Henry Ford created the most important car in history, the Model T. The Model T was inexpensive, reliable, and easy to fix, which contrasted dramatically with the other pricier and less-dependable gasoline-powered cars of the day, and especially with electric and steam cars, which in 1900 actually made up a majority of the auto market. On both sides of the border, the "Tin Lizzie," as the Model T came to be known, completely remade almost every aspect of society, helping to transform an agrarian, rural continent into one based upon industrial modernity. In the words of writer Elwyn Brooks (E.B.) White, who famously penned the children's book *Charlotte's Web*, the Model T was "the miracle that God had wrought."

With the Model T, Ford revolutionized how cars were built. Fordism, as it came to be known, entailed mass-producing automobiles in huge, assembly-line-dominated factories with standardized parts to drive down costs and make cars affordable for more people. Although Ford was not the first to develop the assembly line, his production techniques and the massive scale of his factories created the model for modern industrial production. Mass consumption meant mass profitability, and Ford became one of the wealthiest men on the planet. By 1914 Ford's factory complex in Windsor employed over ten thousand people, and the Canadian Ford factory was the largest industrial establishment in the British Empire.

When the last Model T finally rolled off the assembly line in 1927, Ford had built fifteen million of them. Ford Motor Company, together with General Motors and Chrysler as the Big Three of American auto manufacturing, had ushered in the era of mass motorization. By the mid-1920s, economies of scale, capital requirements, and the technological demands of car-making had driven all of the homegrown Canadian car manufacturers out of business.

There had been a few successful Canadian auto firms in the 1910s, including Toronto's Russell Motor Car Company (a division of bicycle manufacturer CCM), but the demand for wartime munitions production ended car production at the firm in 1916. Other firms, such as the Tudhope Carriage Company (founded in Orillia, Ontario, in 1908), based their designs on U.S. models; but when their supply chains were cut off, or their money ran out, or the complexity of building better cars became too challenging, they soon went out of business. It was difficult to survive in a market as small as Canada's without immense amounts of capital or large production runs, neither of which were easy to get or to sustain.

The last holdout, Gray-Dort Motors (which largely used American technology, too), closed its Chatham, Ontario, factory doors in 1925. In 1918, Sam McLaughlin of Oshawa, Ontario, had sold his McLaughlin Motor Works to GM's Billy Durant to become GM Canada, and in 1925 Chrysler had set up operations in Windsor as Chrysler Canada. Canada's car industry, for better or worse, became an American branch-plant operation — at least until the 1980s, when Japanese and Korean companies came to Canada to build cars.

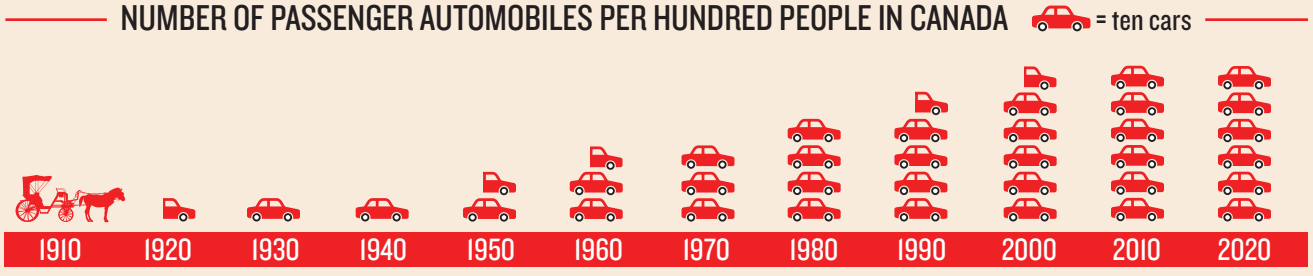
THIS
GRAY-DORT MOTOR CAR
LOANED TO
MISS DOROTHY WOOD EDMONTON ALBERTA
ON HER TOUR OF SPECTACULAR JUMPING
By her horses SIR IRAN & OUTLAW

GLENBOW ARCHIVES CA-1921

Dorothy Wood jumps her horse over a Gray-Dort motor car in Edmonton in the 1920s.

From Model T to Model 3

In just over a century, cars went from a novelty to a normal part of Canadian life, as technology evolved and ownership soared.



Source: Statistics Canada. Numbers have been rounded.

With the Model T leading the auto-industry boom, the sound of the Roaring Twenties was the roar of the car, and its impact on North American society was profound. Cities were rebuilt in many ways to accommodate automobiles, including the construction of car-worthy street surfaces, parking lots, playgrounds (to keep children safe from traffic), parking garages, and of course the gas stations, dealerships, and mechanics shops that quickly proliferated. Even street corners were rounded, while traffic lights and painted road lines became the norm over time. These changes also required a more robust government, which became far more invasive in people's lives through licensing, policing, and road building.

Courtship and romance were completely reshaped by the creation of "dating" — a phenomenon that allowed couples to get together unimpeded by chaperones, in private spaces far away from prying parental eyes. In composer Jack Frost's 1915 song "You Can't Afford to Marry if You Can't Afford a Ford," a lovelorn chap named Percy pawns his watch to buy a car and instantly sees his romantic luck improve: "He owned a little Ford the very next minute/ Then he and his sweetheart Mary climbed right up in it."

In small-town and rural Canada, the changes were just as profound as in urban centres. Cars redefined small-town life by connecting people to the world in a way that railways had never been able to do, allowing them easy access to work, education, and social opportunities that had been much more challenging in the horse-drawn era. Small towns now required signs, policing, and traffic control, while motor hotels (motels), gas stations, roadside stores, and commercial strips sprung up to accommodate cross-country motor travellers.

In the countryside, previously isolated farmers were connected to the world in a way they had never been, as they could now get to town and to market on a regular basis. Motor trucks allowed them to accelerate and expand their work. By the 1920s, Saskatchewan had begun building one of the most extensive road systems in North America, which by the 2000s encompassed more roadway than even the much larger, more populous province of Ontario (more than 220,000 kilometres, compared to Ontario's 190,000).

Reflecting the early adoption by farmers of Model Ts and Fordson tractors (introduced in 1916), Saskatchewan also had one of the highest rates of car ownership by the 1920s, with a car for every 7.8 people in 1928 — nearly the same as the much wealthier Ontario's rate of a car for every 7.3 people.

Along with these changes came roadside culture and rebuilt transit networks, especially bridges and highways. The 1937 Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW) in southern Ontario, designed to attract American motor tourists, was the continent's first superhighway. The QEW began a highway-building boom that redefined Canada's landscape.

With the emergence of giant auto companies, consumerism, franchising, modern marketing, credit, and the idea of different brands for different social classes — "a car for every purse and purpose," in the words of General Motors' legendary leader Alfred P. Sloan — became a part of our society. So, too, did the ideas of the new model and of planned obsolescence, which remain part of consumption today — from clothes, to

ILLUSTRATION BY DOUG COATES

Above: Terry Fox runs along the Trans-Canada Highway on his Marathon of Hope in September 1980.

Right: Workers lower a car onto the assembly-line tracks at the Ford Motor Company of Canada factory in 1961.

phones, to computers. It truly was a revolution in society.

After the Second World War, baby boom-era Canadians fully embraced Detroit's postwar golden age of tail fins and suburbanization, while the Big Three of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler were among Canada's largest employers. Between 1945 and 1970, North Americans built an astounding 150 million vehicles. In Canada in 1941, there was one car for every ten Canadians; by 1971, there was one car for every 2.5 Canadians. To accommodate the automobile, streetcar systems were torn up in Victoria in 1948, Halifax in 1949, Winnipeg in 1955, and Montreal and Ottawa in 1959.

At the culmination of a frenzy of country-wide highway building in the 1950s and 1960s, workers in 1962 completed what many saw as a new, automobile-inspired, national dream binding the country together — the Trans-Canada Highway. A road spanning the country was the vision of automobile boosters such as Doolittle, who once said that, if he were to die, "I don't want an up-and-down tombstone." Instead, Doolittle insisted, "they can lay me away with a smile on my face if they will put mine flat on the ground — a ribbon stretching for four thousand miles."

Started in 1949, and representing one of the most quietly profound examples of federal-provincial co-operation and postwar construction, the Trans-Canada became the twentieth century's answer to the nineteenth-century Canadian Pacific Railway by providing a modern spine of mobility across the country. It is on the Trans-Canada Highway that so much of the country's freight has been hauled, that Canadian families have taken their vacations across the country (to the common back-seat refrain of "are we there yet?"), and that Terry Fox ran his 1980 Marathon of Hope.

Car-oriented suburbs became an ideal for North American living. Commuting for work, shopping, and school became the norm, and people accepted the kind of generic suburban lifestyle that became common by the 1950s and that exists to this day. The Canadian Automobile Association declared in 1956: "The modern car is part of the Canadian way of life, with Canadians convinced that owning it is a basic right."

Postwar suburban culture was also baby-boom culture, with the car serving as a focal point of teenage life in the 1950s and 1960s. "Teenagers" — a new category of adolescents with money and leisure time, who were expected to stay in school much longer than previous generations — created a whole new culture of youthful consumption around music, books, clothes, and, of course, cars. Teenage North American postwar car culture meant freedom, rebellion, sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll. In his 1957 novel *On the Road*, beat-generation wanderer Jack Kerouac mused, "Nothing behind me, everything ahead of me, as is ever so on the road." Based on his liquor-and-sex-laced road trips, the novel was an instant bestseller.

Rock 'n' roll icon Elvis Presley collected Cadillacs, while movie star James Dean sneered at authority from behind the wheel of his Mercury coupe in the 1955 flick *Rebel Without a Cause*. Dean, who was known for speeding, died in a car accident shortly before the movie's release. The Beatles sang "Baby, you can drive my car," and the movie *American Graffiti* captured the culture of drag racing and cruising down Main Street on Saturday night.

In Canada, Winnipeg rock band Bachman-Turner Overdrive charted a top-ten hit in 1974 with "Roll On Down the Highway," a song originally developed as a jingle for Ford but never used by the car company. Quebec chansonnier Steve

TOP LEFT: CANADIAN PRESS CP27/7009; TOP RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA E010975565-V8

Fiset rhapsodized about driving his Camaro down the Trans-Canada in his 1970 tune "Les chemins d'été," and country icon Stompin' Tom Connors immortalized "Bud the spud from the bright red mud/ Rollin' down the highway smiling" in his 1969 homage to P.E.I. potatoes and long-haul trucking.

Canadians accepted the risk of car accidents as part of the cost of their exciting new life. Deaths from motor vehicles increased dramatically in the 1950s and 1960s, but there were scant calls to ban cars nor demands to change car-oriented lifestyles. Canadians overlooked the carnage on the roads because of the convenience and status cars afforded to their owners.

This comfortable suburban lifestyle in which many, though not all, Canadians were able to take part was the product of a bargain between workers and companies in the auto industry. In exchange for high wages and security, which effectively created the postwar middle class, auto workers and their union, the international United Auto Workers, refrained from disrupting the postwar capitalist system, which had, at its heart, the auto sector.

In 1965, Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact trade agreement, removing cross-border tariffs and integrating the two industries in exchange for Big Three promises to continue building cars and trucks in Canada. The deal was, in Pearson's words, "one of the most important" that Canada had ever reached. Not only was the Canadian economy fully on the way to becoming continentalized, but much of Canada's economic fate was now bound up in the future of the auto sector. In the four decades after the Auto Pact, nearly one in every seven jobs in Canada was tied to the industry.

By then, the automobile had become ubiquitous in Canadians' economic, cultural, and political life — the *carrification* of Canada, and of North America, was complete.

Despite this broad willingness to accept a car-oriented life, by the late 1960s many Canadians began to realize that mass automobile ownership had adverse consequences. Smog became a major problem in cities such as Montreal and Toronto, where postwar car numbers had exploded. Activists such as American expatriate Jane Jacobs challenged the construction of city highways that destroyed local neighbourhoods. In Toronto, Jacobs became a leading advocate for pedestrian-oriented urban planning and

Above: A woman poses on a car beside a sign for Hector Lake, Alberta. Top right: Stompin' Tom Connors, middle, leans against his GMC touring truck nicknamed "The Boot" with bandmates Gary Empy, left, and Bill Lewis, right, outside the Hepworth Country Music Auditorium in Hepworth, Ontario, circa the early 1970s. Above right: Bachman-Turner Overdrive's 1975 album *Four Wheel Drive*.

LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA E010949183-V8. UPPER RIGHT: NEILWAUGHOUTDOORS.WORDPRESS.COM. LOWER RIGHT: ALAMY

in 1971 spearheaded the movement to defeat the proposed Spadina Expressway, a ten-lane highway through a historic area of downtown Toronto. In her book *Dark Age Ahead*, Jacobs remarked, "Not TV or illegal drugs, but the automobile has been the chief destroyer of American communities." In Edmonton, Montreal, and a host of other cities, activist Canadians began to challenge the automobile and to protest against further highway construction.

In the 1970s, the car was further buffeted by three great regulatory waves that forced consumers, automakers, and governments to rethink and redesign the automobile. After muckraking consumer advocate Ralph Nader revealed the role that carmakers' poor designs played in traffic accidents in his famous 1965 book *Unsafe at Any Speed*, the industry was forced to adopt expensive safety features that we now take for granted, such as seat belts, collapsible steering wheels, and crash-proof glass.

Top: University of Toronto students march to protest the proposed Spadina Expressway on March 18, 1970.

Above: Minister of External Affairs Paul Martin, far left, and Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, centre left, sign the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact on behalf of Canada while President Lyndon B. Johnson, centre right, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, far right, ink the agreement on behalf of the United States on January 15, 1965.

At the same time, the environmental movement pushed governments to enact stricter regulations on tailpipe emissions, forcing automakers to build less-polluting cars. In addition, the global geopolitics of oil spurred governments to demand greater fuel efficiency in new cars. This was particularly acute following the decision by the Arab-led Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to impose an oil embargo upon the United States, Europe, and Japan in 1973 in response to Western support for Israel. Since much of the world's oil supply came from OPEC countries, the embargo cut off the lifeblood of the automobile, and of the wider economy, resulting in economic instability.

All of these measures pushed the Big Three — already facing stiff competition from foreign, especially Japanese, automakers — to go through costly restructuring. Chrysler teetered on the edge of bankruptcy in 1979–80, but it recovered after being helped out by the Canadian government's promises of loan guarantees in exchange for expanded production in Canada. Perhaps most importantly, by the late twentieth century the growing recognition that cars' carbon dioxide emissions were contributing greatly to climate change forced people to reconsider society's relationship to the automobile.

By the 1990s, the car had shifted in the popular imagination. While cars had, for much of their existence, been seen as agents of positive change and modernity, many people now saw them as a problem to be solved. The second automobile revolution was about to start in Canada, and beyond.

If Henry Ford personified North America's first auto revolution, Elon Musk, the South African-born leader of the electric vehicle company Tesla, can certainly claim a starring role in its second. Both men had early, important ties to Canada: Ford through his 1904 agreement with Gordon McGregor to build cars in Canada and Musk through his stop as a young engineering student at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, for a couple of terms in 1990 before he moved to the United States. Both men have come to epitomize the search for solutions. With his Model T, Ford sought to democratize mobility and alleviate the isolation of rural living. Musk, with his aptly named Model Three — an homage to the earlier car — seeks to solve the problems caused by the internal combustion engine that was so popularized by Ford. The Tesla founder once proclaimed, "We will not stop until every car on the road is electric."

Of course, the second automobile revolution is not simply about Musk; nor was the first simply about Ford. After all, electric-battery-powered vehicles (EVs) have existed since the nineteenth century and, in fact, made up approximately thirty per cent of Canada's auto fleet in 1900. But the historical problems of EVs — their limited range, the lack of charging stations, the weight of their batteries, and the sheer preponderance of the internal combustion engine after the 1910s as the engine of choice for car buyers — meant that by the 1930s EVs had largely been forgotten as a possibility for cars in Canada and elsewhere.

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In the 1990s, technology finally began to catch up with the visions of the first EV supporters. Advances in batteries, fuels, materials, and design all came together to make EVs plausible, even desirable, in the face of the threat of climate change. By shifting cars' source of power from carbon-emitting fossil fuels to electric batteries, ideally powered by renewable energy sources, EV innovators started to develop technologies that presaged a different future for the automobile, one that might truly solve the problems of the internal combustion engine.

Canada, whose auto industry remains largely foreign-owned, save for a number of major parts manufacturers, has lagged in this transformation to EVs. When GM announced in 2019 that it would shutter its operations in Oshawa, ending more than a century of automaking in that city, many observers feared that, because it had missed the EV revolution, the Canadian auto sector faced its demise.

But the recent announcements that Ford, Fiat-Chrysler, and GM intend to collectively spend nearly $6 billion to start producing EVs at their facilities in Oakville, Windsor, and Ingersoll, Ontario, beginning in the mid-2020s, have given new life to the Canadian sector and placed Canadians firmly in the middle of the second auto revolution. While EVs constitute around three per cent of current auto sales, that percentage is sure to grow, as jurisdictions from Quebec to British Columbia have all promised to ban the sales of new cars with internal combustion engines within the next ten to twenty years.

Of course, using technology to solve the environmental problems caused by cars is only one part of the twenty-first century's second automobile revolution. There has also been a tremendous shift in how people see and use cars. Since the 1990s, the millennials, a generation even larger than the car-loving baby boomers, have embraced the automobile to a lesser extent than previous generations. The ease of ride sharing, the increasingly restrictive licensing requirements, and the attachment to smartphones as a way of socializing with friends instead of meeting face-to-face have led to a decline in the number of young adults in North America with driver's licences. Where passing a driver's test was once seen as a rite of passage into adulthood, studies show that the percentage of teens getting a license in the 2010s declined by nearly half compared to the 1980s.

Perhaps this explains why Canadians are slowly embracing the automated vehicle (AV) future. Self-parking cars, self-driving cars, and fully automated cars are all at various stages of testing and operation in North America, including in Canada. While the EV revolution promises a dramatic change in how cars are propelled, with an enormous impact upon the environment and upon automotive design, the AV revolution will fundamentally transform how Canadians live, work, and commute. The next generation of Canadian drivers may, in fact, not actually need to drive at all. In twenty or thirty years, Canadians might simply tap on their phones to order up a self-driving car, staying online as the car whisks them to their next destination. In an ideal world, they may never have to worry about either the environmental impact of their EV (its battery charged by renewable energy sources) or the risk inherent in driving, since artificial intelligence (tested to meet stringent safety standards) will do the driving for them. By 2040, when all new vehicles in Canada are to be built without internal combustion engines, many cars will also be partly or even fully automated.

Top: Vehicles clog Toronto's Gardiner Expressway under a hazy sky on November 24, 2016.

Above: A Mustang Mach-E electric car on display at the Ford booth during the International Motor Show in September 2021.

How the legal, economic, political, and social questions surrounding a fully electrified and automated future will unfold is still to be determined, with legitimate concerns about job losses, safety, and privacy concerns, not to mention the basic fact that Canadians would be willingly surrendering their ability to drive themselves — the core of the car's appeal as a symbol of freedom and mobility. There's no question that the changes ushered in will be profound.

Imagine Canadians travelling across their whole country, just as Thomas Wilby and Jack Haney did more than a century ago, but this time powered by electricity and without ever having to touch a steering wheel.

TOP: CANADIAN PRESS CP1323868B. BOTTOM: GETTY 1235117579

THINK ON ME

In the 1940s contralto Portia May White was celebrated as Canada's singing sensation.

by Sylvia D. Hamilton

ONE EVENING IN FEBRUARY 1968, SINGER JUDITH LANDER WAS SITTING IN her small apartment in Toronto. She was in her early twenties and had recently moved there from Winnipeg. With a few television gigs on her resumé, her career in popular music was taking shape. The telephone rang. It was her teacher, the famous Canadian contralto Portia White. Her voice was unusually husky, not the soft, honeyed voice Lander was used to. A caring and attentive teacher, White asked her how she was. She expressed regret that Lander would not be pursuing a career in opera but said she was certain that, whatever Lander decided to do, she would be successful. White said that, although she would no longer be teaching her, she had one request: "Judy, please take your vitamins."

As they said goodbye, Lander told her she would see her soon.

It was not to be. A few days after that memorable telephone call, Lander learned that White was quite ill. Unsettled by the news, she sat at her small piano as some lyrics came to her, and she composed a pleasing melody to accompany them. "Lady of Ginger," a song for Portia White, was born.

Judith Lander's album *Lady of Ginger.*

> The lady of ginger and velvet and honey and light
> Breathed a child's awe into me
> The lady of ginger and velvet and honey and light
> wore the cloak of dignity….
> A raindrop fell on her nest of earth
> and nurtured her sparrow song of purity
> She rode on the wings of a nightingale
> And her colour was liberty.

The next morning, Lander heard on a radio newscast that White had died in a Toronto hospital at the age of fifty-seven. Those were troubled times. White's death occurred barely two months before Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968. As for me, I was a teenager in Beechville, a Black community near Halifax, counting the months to June, when I expected to graduate, and at the same time wondering if I would be accepted into university. After all, when I entered high school, my grade nine teacher advised me to take the general program: "If you make it through," she told me, "you might get a little job for yourself."

Such were the low-level expectations and unjustified racist attitudes — whether intentional or not — faced by so many Black students of my generation and of the generations before mine, including White's. She earned accolades in the 1940s, when race, gender, and class determined what people could do and were expected to do, and in a province and a country marked by a legacy of slavery (which was legal in the British North American colonies until 1834) and ongoing racial discrimination. But she was a dreamer, she was brave. How audacious of this Black woman to aspire to perform on the concert stage. It wasn't done — that is, until Portia White. One journalist christened her "the New Canadian Star of the Concert Stage." Hers is a remarkable story but one tinged with more than a touch of sadness.

Named after Portia, the heroine of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice,* White was born in Truro, Nova Scotia, on Saturday, June 24, 1911. An adage says, "a Saturday child works hard for a living." White did not disappoint. An early

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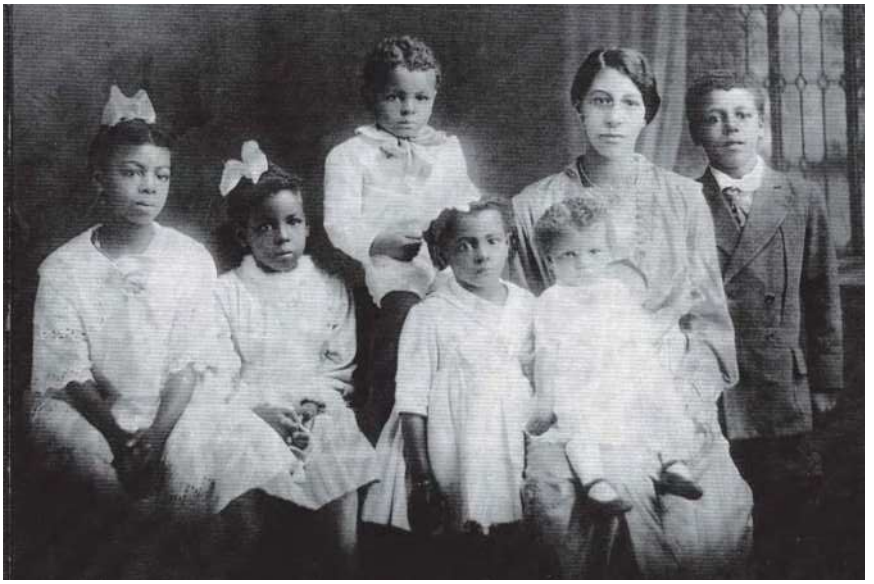
Yousuf Karsh's portrait of Portia White, January 1946.



Above left: Izie White and her children in late 1917 or early 1918. The children, left to right, are Helena, Portia, Billy, Nettie, Mildred, and Romney. Above right: Portia's parents, Rev. William White and Izie White.

reader, she learned to play the piano when she was five years old. Along with her twelve siblings, she was raised in Halifax by her Virginia-born father, Rev. William Andrew White, and her mother, Izie White, of Mill Village, Nova Scotia.

At the outbreak of the First World War, large numbers of Black men went to recruiting stations across Canada to volunteer but were turned away; they were told it was a "white man's war." After protests by Black leaders, including William White, and a debate in the House of Commons, the No. 2 Construction Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, a segregated, non-combatant unit of Black soldiers, was mustered on July 5, 1916, in Pictou, Nova Scotia. William White, named chaplain, was assigned the rank of honorary captain, becoming one of very few Black commissioned officers in the Canadian contingent. He departed for France in 1917, leaving Izie to care for their six children, the oldest of whom, Helena, was nine.

At war's end William White was called to Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in Halifax. (Founded in 1832, it was renamed New Horizons Baptist Church in 2018.) As the family grew in the 1920s, Helena and Portia, the next eldest, helped to manage the household by taking care of the younger children.

Yvonne, the youngest of the thirteen, remembered Portia as a strong disciplinarian. Each morning, eight-year-old Yvonne sat while Portia braided her hair. Once at school, she and her friends would undo her braids, intending to redo them before she went home. One day she forgot. She faced the consequences: Portia spanked her, which was not an unusual action for the times but was a shock to Yvonne. Her hair stayed braided ever after. Portia was not above pulling pranks, Yvonne explained. With sister Nettie she generously spiked their mother's fruitcake with rum. Mother Izie, who would never use liquor in her cakes, was none the wiser.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the sound of music wafted from their home on Belle Aire Terrace in North End Halifax. Passersby might hear the weekly choir practice, children's piano lessons, brother Billy's quartet singing a spiritual, or "Portia's big voice rehearsing," as her brother Lorne recalled. Izie, an accomplished singer and mandolin player, gave her children an early start with regular singing and piano lessons, inspiring in them a lifelong love of music.

At the age of eight, Portia White sang solos in the church choir and at the Halifax Music Festival. When she was old enough, she became the choir director. Family friend and choir member Aleta Williams said White was a meticulous director who taught everyone to perform well and to achieve the precise notes she expected. "Nobody ever told me to sing. I was born singing," White once told a radio interviewer. "I think that if nobody had ever talked to me, I wouldn't be able to communicate in any other way but by singing. I was always bowing in my dreams, and singing before people, and parading across the stage as a very little girl."

When she finished high school in 1929, White's class prophesy predicted that within ten years she'd see her name in lights outside a concert stage. In reality, teaching was one of the few professional jobs open to Black women. After training, White taught in Black segregated primary schools — the only ones whose doors were open to her — in Black communities near Halifax. Her pay: thirty to thirty-five dollars a month.

Those were the dirty thirties; times were hard. Death was a frequent visitor to the White family. Three young siblings died between 1921 and 1939. After William White died in 1936, money was scarce. Izie White took in boarders to help make ends meet, and Portia helped out financially whenever she could.

Music clung to her heart. She set aside $3.50 a month to pay for lessons at the Halifax Conservatory of Music. She entered the Nova Scotia Music Festival and won the competition for mezzo-soprano in 1935, 1937, and 1938. After winning three

TOP LEFT AND RIGHT: COURTESY OF SYLVIA D. HAMILTON

times, according to the rules, the Helen Campbell Kennedy Silver Cup was hers to keep.

The tumult of the Second World War brought a person into White's circle who would change the course of her life: the singer and medical doctor Ernesto Vinci. Born Ernst Wreszynski to a Jewish family in Prussia in 1898, Vinci immigrated to Canada in 1939. The famous conductor Arturo Toscanini recommended to the Halifax Conservatory of Music that it should hire Vinci to head the voice department. The conservatory did so, and Vinci became White's voice teacher and one of the architects of her career. The Halifax Ladies Musical Club, eager to help, paid for lessons for White, who by this time was twenty-eight years old. Seeing tremendous potential in White's gifts, Vinci directed her voice change from mezzo-soprano to the rarer contralto range.

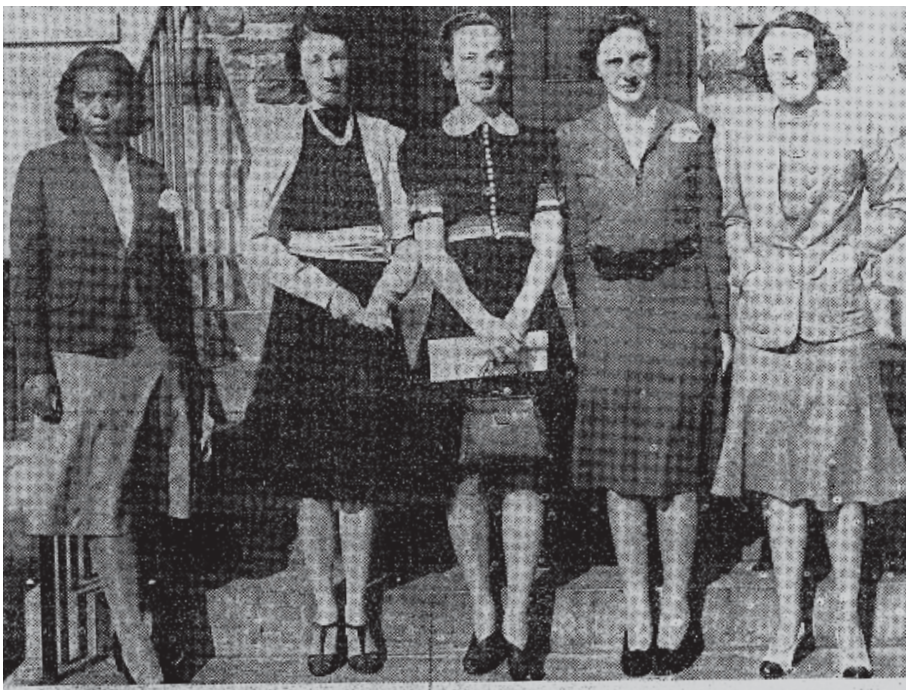
A fairy-godmother figure entered White's story when Edith Read, the principal of the Toronto private girls school Branksome Hall, came home to Halifax for a visit. After hearing about White, she telephoned and invited her to sing for her. Afterwards, she was convinced that White should be heard beyond small Maritime venues. Using her connections, she arranged a debut at Toronto's Eaton Auditorium, Canada's leading concert venue. White later told a radio interviewer: "I must admit that I doubt very much that any other singer has ever ventured to do such a big thing after having done only two or three recitals."

On the evening of Friday, November 7, 1941, accompanied on piano by fellow Haligonian Elaine Burns, the thirty-year-old White began her concert with Beethoven's "Creation Hymn," continued with selections by classical composers Elgar, Schubert, and Verdi, and closed with spirituals including "Li'l David Play on Your Harp."

In glowing reviews, critics vied for superlatives to describe White's talent and the elegance of her stage performance. Hector Charlesworth, reporting for *Saturday Night*, wrote, "When one considers that Miss White was singing for the first time in a large musical centre, before an audience of strangers, her poise was amazing. This recital indeed may well have been a milepost in a great career. Her tonal volume is remarkable, and she makes a beautiful use of it." Her unusual voice range of three octaves — from a high A-flat down to a low D — turned heads, and she sang in several languages. Portia's concert was a flickering light in a gloomy world racked by the Second World War.

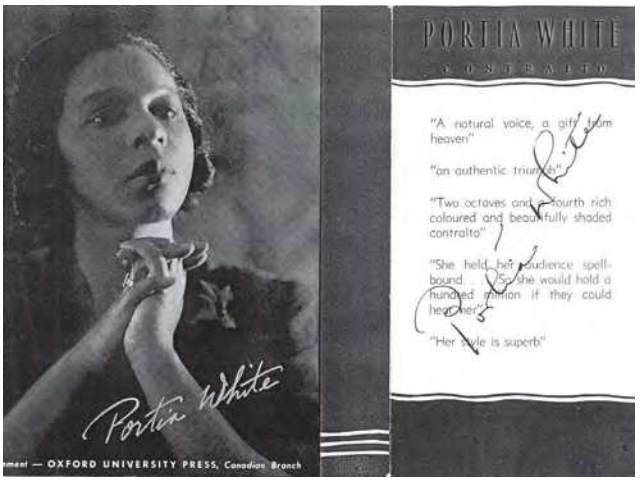
After White's success, the Canadian branch of Oxford University Press (OUP) seized an opportunity: Its new concert management division in Toronto needed artists, and White signed on as one of its first. She wired the Halifax School Board to resign from her teaching position. White's backers, thrilled with the prospects for her career, wondered if she could be as big as the famous American singer Marian Anderson, considered by many to be the finest contralto in the world. This comparison trailed White throughout her career.

Though its concert management division was created with good intentions, OUP's inexperience in artist management was exposed only two years later, in 1943, when confusion arose over White's schedules, performance fees, and expenses. She made efforts to sort out the problems but to no avail. "They have deliberately made it impossible for me to see them," she confided in a letter to Vinci, adding that William



Left: Edith MacGregor Read, White's patron and principal of the Toronto private girls school Branksome Hall from 1910 to 1958. Right: Portia White, left, with the other contestants in a Halifax music competition, in a clipping from the June 4, 1941, edition of the *Halifax Herald*.

LEFT: THE BRANKSOME SLOGAN. JUBILEE NUMBER 1903-1953. PUBLISHED BY BRANKSOME HALL, 1953. RIGHT: COURTESY OF JAY WHITE


PORTIA WHITE
"A natural voice, a gift from heaven"
"an authentic triumph"
"Two octaves and a fourth rich coloured and beautifully shaded contralto"
"She held her audience spell-bound ... So she would hold a hundred million if they could hear her"
"Her style is superb"
Portia White
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, Canadian Branch

Top: Ernesto Vinci teaches a singing lesson in 1953. Above: A pamphlet from the concert management division of Oxford University Press promotes Portia White.

Clarke, the head of OUP's Canadian division, had "left for the West so that I shan't see him now."

While White's musical intelligence and poise endeared her to critics and audiences, press reports often pointed out her race. "Portia White, Negro contralto of Canadian origin," opened one New York newspaper report. In *Saturday Night*, she was "deep voiced, dusky skinned," and "the young Canadian Negro girl." Perhaps at play was an underlying assumption that such talent was exceptional or unusual because she was a Black performer singing the classical repertoire.

Therein lies the racial conundrum: People packed halls to see her, yet she still faced the colour barrier. Historian Hilary Russell, in an unpublished paper for the Historical Services Branch of Parks Canada, wrote that White was once given a room at a Canadian hotel but told she could not eat in the dining room. She was not welcome at Toronto's prestigious Granite Club, which also rejected Marian Anderson because of her race. En route home from her triumphant 1946 South American and Caribbean tour, in spite of reservations made in advance, there was no room for her at a Miami hotel even though there was a room for her accompanist, Gordon Kushner. He said White handled the ordeal with dignity. He refused his room in protest. They stayed up overnight in the airport, waiting for a flight the next day. Portia White lived the truth of American scholar and activist W.E.B. Du Bois's perceptive words: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." Racial events in 2020, well into the twenty-first century, cast in bold relief the frightening relevance of his assessment.

In 1943 audiences flocked to see White's Canadian tour that finished with an encore in November at the Eaton Auditorium. That year she experienced her first health problem: She had throat surgery, a fearsome experience for any singer. Now under contract with OUP, she continued performing after a short rest — otherwise, she would have had no income.

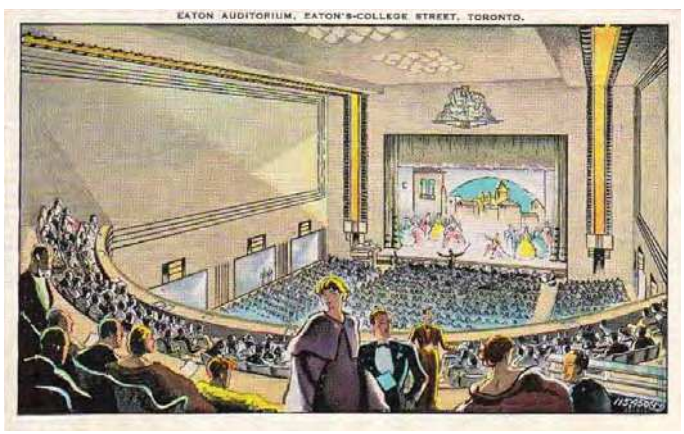
New York beckoned. White's patron Edith Read knew stars were made there, and she knew who could pave the way. Her friend Edward Johnson, born in Guelph, Ontario, was the general manager of New York's Metropolitan Opera. Read arranged for White's audition. While Johnson liked what he heard, he told White that she needed more concert experience: Go home, perform more, continue training with Vinci.

During January and February of 1944, White practised her repertoire and performed concerts — dress rehearsals for her New York debut. She was drawn to songs that perfectly blended poetry with music and to spirituals. Audiences enjoyed these "sorrow songs" that became a signature part of her program; her accompanist Kushner said she relaxed more when performing them.

Read rented New York's prestigious and trail-blazing Town Hall theatre for the evening of March 13, 1944. New York's music circles were buzzing. When White graced the stage before an enthusiastic, racially mixed audience of a thousand, including a sprinkling of Canadians, she became the first Canadian woman to perform there. "An Unheralded Star is Born," read the headline in New York's *P.M. Daily*, whose critic Henry Simon reported, "she has one of the finest contralto voices to reach New York since Marian Anderson, with whom comparisons are inevitable.… She has enormous power." Fame arrived at Portia's door, "and from that time on," she told a radio interviewer, "things just gathered impetus, and I was swept away on this tide of great activity."

In May 1944 the government of Nova Scotia and the City of Halifax took an unprecedented step: They created the Portia White Trust, a special fund to support the career of their newly minted singing sensation. Regular allocations covered many, but not all, of her expenses. Officials gave White a white fox cape that she draped over her shoulders at later concerts. Agents from Columbia Concerts Inc. successfully courted her. She left OUP to sign a three-year contract with Columbia, one of the two largest artist-management companies in North America. Soon after, she moved to New York.

TOP: BANFF CENTRE FOR ARTS AND CREATIVITY. BELOW: COURTESY OF JAY WHITE



Top: Portia White speaks with an accompanist.

Right: White with her accompanist Gordon Kushner in Kingston, Jamaica, during their 1946 South American and Caribbean tour.

Above: A postcard depicts the Eaton Auditorium in Toronto in the 1930s. In 1941, this auditorium hosted White's first performance outside of the Maritime provinces.

TOP: COURTESY OF VIVIAN WHITE, MULTICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF ONTARIO, BLA-20085B-839; BOTTOM LEFT: PUBLIC DOMAIN; BOTTOM RIGHT: COURTESY OF JAY WHITE

Columbia also required her to sign a separate one-year contract with a New York-based public relations company. She paid the company's fee and her publicity expenses directly from her earnings. The cost of any voice coaching, essential to improving her performance skills, also came out of her income.

Between April and June of 1944, White performed in five concerts, the largest of which was the United Nations Victory Rally at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto. In July she travelled to several major U.S. cities as a star performer with the Fifth Annual Negro Music Festival, appearing beside luminaries such as composer W.C. Handy and poet Langston Hughes.

Town Hall's music lovers cheered White's encore performance in October 1944. Reviews were glowing, though at least one pointed to an unevenness in her voice. White knew her weaknesses and how much she still had to learn; her concentrated musical training had been cut short after her Eaton Auditorium debut. "Even now when I get a chance to be in Halifax I study with my teacher — one acquires many bad habits when touring," she told a reporter. As the number of her concerts increased, visits home became infrequent. In 1946, accompanied by Kushner, she thrilled audiences during a three-month whirlwind tour of the Caribbean and South America. A highlight came in the Panama Concert Hall when a group of Black youth presented her with a special medal they struck in her honour.

Hedley Rainnie's 1943 portrait of Portia White, which now hangs in Government House in Halifax.

White garnered a lot of ink. Extensive profiles appeared in *Chatelaine*, *Saturday Night*, and *Ebony*. Readers learned that she liked to play tennis, tackle crosswords, embroider handkerchiefs, and read Christopher Marlowe's plays. And she loved to cook, especially salmon from Nova Scotia that she sometimes had shipped to Toronto, where she stayed before and after her residency in New York. To account for her late start on the American music scene, White's publicity material fudged her birthdate, presenting her as eight years younger than she was. She attracted interest from other artists, too: Yousuf Karsh photographed her; Harold Pfeiffer sculpted her likeness in bronze; and her portrait, painted by Hedley Rainnie, now hangs in Nova Scotia's Government House.

Today performers of White's stature have assistants to take care of the myriad details of touring and performing. White seemed to have no one. Columbia agents in New York and Toronto controlled everything, from her fees to where and what she sang. They even commented on her hairstyle. Yet it appears that the level of support she needed to fulfill their expectations was not there. Often White took care of her own travel arrangements; she paid for and cared for her gowns and covered her accompanist's fees and travel expenses. She was expected to gather reviews about her concerts to send to Columbia. "Have not succeeded in my attempts at collecting the write-ups," she wrote to Vinci in July 1944, while on the road with the Negro Music Festival. "We have all been moving too quickly. I have not even seen them."

By 1947, her managers began to falter. Tours and concerts were booked, then cancelled. "It is difficult to understand," she wrote to Read, "why given so much time and my reputation, they have failed to make more definite arrangements."

At home a family member was ill and her youngest brother was beginning college. She wanted to help. With few concerts, there was little income, and at the age of thirty-six her own health was failing. She had suffered a bout of pleurisy, a lung inflammation, from which she had recovered. Now, unbeknownst to most people other than close family members, she had breast cancer.

It was the moment to move home — this time to Toronto, the city where she was first introduced to the music world beyond Halifax. Read offered White a temporary place to live at Branksome Hall along with a job teaching music to Branksome's girls.

The move allowed White to spend time with her brothers Bill and Jack and their families, who now lived in Toronto. "Portia would play Schubert on the piano, and that was lovely," her sister-in-law Vivian recalled. "She was quite interested in our life and how the children were doing and played bridge with them, scowling at her cards if they weren't to her liking." Family was important to White. "Portia made sure that she kept in touch with all the family members.… She would phone me on Fridays and tell me about what was happening with the other members of the family," Jack White said.

In the 1950s, Portia White established a teaching studio that attracted a who's who of Toronto's music, theatre, and television personalities. She taught actors Lorne Greene and Don Francks and singers Dinah Christie, Ann-Marie Moss, and Robert Goulet — names many Canadians knew from their appearances on early CBC television shows.

Reflecting on her gift for teaching, she told a radio host in 1964, "I have found that I have a peculiar gift that I didn't realize that I had.… A peculiar kind of articulate thing comes when I'm communicating with my pupils that is quite strange. Some of them tell me that I hypnotize them." A few of those

PAINTING PHOTOGRAPHED BY MICHAEL CREAGEN, OFFICE OF THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA

Above: CBC Radio host Lorne Greene in 1942. Greene took voice lessons from Portia White.

Right: Singer Dinah Christie in 1970. Christie was also one of White's students.

Far right: White accepts a bouquet of flowers after a recital in February 1966.

students, with no place to go, spent Christmas with her and her brother Bill's family.

"The secret of singing," White told writer Frank Morriss, "is in not stopping. Once you do it's hard to come back." But she did make efforts to do so in the 1950s and 1960s. She found a new teacher with whom to continue her studies and gave occasional performances. Ron Collier, who was soon to become a jazz legend in Toronto, organized a memorable concert with her at Casa Loma, a gothic-revival mansion in the city's downtown, in November 1958. "We are featuring Miss Portia White, who is going to be singing spirituals and folk songs accompanied by our guitarist Ed Bickert," Collier told radio interviewer Leslie Bell, who found the pairing curious until White added: "We're tracing the relationship between jazz as it is known today and the spirituals from which jazz has evolved."

When Queen Elizabeth II officially opened the Confederation Centre in Charlottetown in 1964, White was among the artists invited to perform. She sang "Bonnie George Campbell," one of the Queen's favourites. "Her Majesty was interested in where I had travelled in my concert career and asked about the selections I sang," she told reporter Dulcie Conrad. Her last public performance went back to her Baptist roots. She sang during the triennial assembly of the Baptist Federation of Canada, held at Ottawa's First Baptist Church in 1967. By that year White had performed in nearly 150 recitals and concerts, but Columbia had never arranged any commercial recordings. The only extant recordings were made backstage and never intended for public release. Digitized by the National Archives in Ottawa, they were released by her family on CD in the early 2000s.

Nonetheless, her legacy stands. In 1999 Canada Post featured her image on a stamp in its Extraordinary Entertainers series. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada named her a Person of National Historic Significance in 1995, and Nova Scotia established the $25,000 Portia White Prize, awarded annually to an artist who achieves excellence. New generations learn about her. Artists from all disciplines benefit from awards given by the Nova Scotia Talent Trust, which began as the Portia White Trust and still exists today.

Portia White's signature song, "Think on Me," says:

When I no more behold thee, think on me
When hearts are lightest, when eyes are brightest,
When griefs are slightest, think on me.

More than a century after her birth, people like me are still thinking about her.

Author's note: Over the past century terminology has evolved as Black people have sought to self-define. Though not in use now, and considered dated and offensive, the term "Negro" was common in the 1940s and 1950s when I was young. Today, many Black people refer to themselves as African Canadian or African as a way to acknowledge ancestral beginnings.

Sylvia Hamilton was the 2019 recipient of the Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award. For more information on the Governor General's History Awards go to:CanadasHistory.ca/Awards.

TOP LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. BELOW LEFT: TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY. TOP RIGHT: COURTESY OF JAY WHITE

FIRST IN HER CLASS

Pioneering feminist Grace Annie Lockhart earned the degree that broke men's monopoly on higher education.

by Sydney Lockhart

AT THE AGE OF TWENTY, GRACE ANNIE LOCKHART SAT FOR A PHOTO beside her seven male peers. She wore a dress that reached down to her ankles. The men wore graduation gowns and held their mortarboards. Despite not being given the opportunity to dress in formal graduation attire, Lockhart held something far more valuable — the distinction of being the first woman to earn a bachelor's degree in the British Empire.

Lockhart graduated with a bachelor of science and English literature on May 25, 1875, from Mount Allison Wesleyan College in Sackville, New Brunswick. (The school became Mount Allison University in 1913.) Never before had a university or college under the British Crown granted a degree to a woman equal to those awarded to men — except in the singular case of Dr. James Miranda Steuart Barry, who masqueraded as a man to earn an MD at Edinburgh University, Scotland, in 1812 and kept up the gender deception her entire life.

Although some Canadian colleges had begun allowing women to take a few courses in the 1860s, Canadian universities like Queen's, McGill, and the University of Toronto did not admit women as full-fledged students until the 1880s. Meanwhile, the most elite British schools — Oxford and Cambridge — began admitting women as students in the late-nineteenth century but refused to grant them degrees until 1920 and 1948, respectively.

"In all lands doors of learning are being thrown open to [women]," Lockhart remarked in a speech in 1896, two decades after her graduation. "And although Oxford and Cambridge still withhold their degrees, all honour to the women who do the work without its just recompense."

Though she went on to become an early advocate of women's suffrage in Canada, little is known of Lockhart's life, and few Canadians recognize her name. "It is, in some ways, poetic that there's so little about her," said Mount Allison University's archivist, David Mawhinney. "I don't think that she was the type of person that would be boastful or self-promoting. So [her graduation] was a very modest event."

Lockhart's own impression of her graduation day remains unknown. However, the experiences of fellow Mount Allison graduate Harriet Starr Stewart — who in 1882 was the first woman in Canada to receive a bachelor of arts degree — are recorded in the Fall 1954 issue of the *Mount Allison Record*. In that issue, alumna Leah Borden recalled Stewart telling students in later years "of the quandary the governing board found themselves in when they considered her case. She had completed every requirement with distinction, but could a chit of a girl … be given a degree? The compromise was no cap, no gown, no platform. 'They just handed you your sheepskin?' we would ask. Miss Stewart's keen eyes would crinkle at the corners: 'It would be more nearly correct to say they threw it at me.'"

Lockhart's mother, Susan C. Whittekir (or Whittaker), died just nine months after giving birth to her on February 22, 1855, in Saint John. Lockhart was left to be raised mainly by the family's housekeeper, Rosanna Wilson, and by her three older sisters. Her mother's death was just the beginning of a childhood filled with loss. Her grandfather died when she was four years old; then Wilson, who had taken on the role of the young girl's mother, died when Lockhart was only eight. Following this, the children were raised under the guardianship of their father, Edward Elias Lockhart, who remarried in 1867. With the help of an inheritance from their grandfather, all four of the Lockhart sisters pursued higher education by enrolling in the Mount Allison Wesleyan Female Academy. However, none of them went as far as Grace Annie Lockhart, who believed passionately in the importance of education.

Founded in 1854, and renamed the Mount Allison Ladies' College in 1894, the female academy was housed in a three-storey wooden building located near Mount Allison Wesleyan

OPPOSITE PAGE TOP: MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, PICTURE COLLECTION, 2007.07/161. BOTTOM LEFT: MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, LOCKHART-DAWSON FAMILY FONDS, 2014.05/87. BOTTOM RIGHT: MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, PICTURE COLLECTION, 2007_07_163

Above: Grace Annie Lockhart sits in the front row of Mount Allison Wesleyan College's 1875 graduation photo, surrounded by male classmates.

Left: Lockhart in the late 1860s.

Below: Mount Allison Wesleyan Ladies' College in 1887.

Above: Grace Annie Dawson (née Lockhart), left, sits beside her son Kenneth Dawson, with baby Wilfred Dawson and husband John Leard Dawson, circa 1893.

Right: Harriet Starr Stewart in 1885. In 1882 she became the first woman in Canada to receive a bachelor of arts degree, after graduating from Mount Allison Wesleyan College.

College, where the men studied. Lockhart enrolled in the academy in 1871 at the age of sixteen. Working toward her mistress of liberal arts degree, she took courses in Shakespeare, Latin, French, algebra, calculus, chemistry, minerology, astronomy, and many more subjects. The total cost of room, board, and tuition was approximately $165 per year.

The academy had rooms where the women boarded and reception rooms for entertaining, although the women's social lives were strictly controlled. "Except under careful supervision, access to the students of the ladies' academy was restricted to members of family, and even correspondence 'beyond the home circle' was allowed only with special permission; failing such permission … the principal had power either to destroy offending letters or to send them to the parents of the student involved," historian John G. Reid wrote in *Mount Allison University: A History to 1963*.

A student who graduated from the ladies' college in 1902 described their strictly regulated life in an article that later appeared under the headline "The Ladies College of Yesterday" in the *Argosy Weekly* student newspaper: "One of the important events of the day was the afternoon walk, and in some way the University boys always seemed to choose the same time for their strolls; only, of course, on the other side of the street…. From seven to nine was our evening study period; each girl in her own room and not a whisper to be heard…. From nine to nine-thirty, we visited in other rooms, then back to our own rooms and lights out at ten."

Church attendance was mandatory, and the women were chaperoned almost everyplace they went. A high evergreen hedge kept the young women sheltered from prying eyes. "They were completely controlled from the time they got up in the morning until they went to bed at night; there was a very strict order to the way that things were done," said Mawhinney. Through all of the classes, expectations, and rules, Lockhart remained dedicated to her studies and received good marks. She graduated from the female academy with a mistress of liberal arts (M.L.A.) degree in 1874. She then decided to further her studies at Mount Allison Wesleyan College with the aim of earning a bachelor's degree.

The door that allowed Lockhart to earn this degree had been opened two years earlier by Dr. James R. Inch, the president of the female academy. Inch, who sat on the Mount Allison College board, persuaded the board in 1872 to pass a motion that "ladies having regularly matriculated and completed the course of study prescribed by this board shall be entitled to receive the degrees in the arts and faculties upon the same terms and conditions as are now or may hereafter be imposed upon male students of the college." Thus, upon Lockhart's graduation in 1875 the *Halifax Herald* reported, "this was the first occasion on which the College had conferred a degree on a member of the female sex."

When she became the first woman not only in Canada but in the British Empire to earn a bachelor's degree, Lockhart set a precedent that foreshadowed the expansion of educational opportunities for women over the decades that followed.

In 1881, six years after she graduated, Lockhart married a fellow student named John Leard Dawson, who sat to her right in their graduation photo. Though it's not known if they were romantically involved while at Mount Allison, by the time they married Dawson was an ordained minister in

TOP: MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, LOCKHART-DAWSON FAMILY FONDS, 2016.05.9.
BOTTOM: MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, PICTURE COLLECTION, 2007.07.337

the Methodist Church. As a minister's wife in the late nineteenth century, it was not socially acceptable for Lockhart to work outside the home. Rather, she was expected to be an active member of the community and a stay-at-home mother. She and her husband had three children: Kenneth, Wilfred, and John. The family travelled to different areas in the Maritimes, pursuing the usual life of a Methodist minister's family. But, in addition to fulfilling her conventional role as a minister's wife, Lockhart continued with her untraditional pursuits.

Lockhart's university studies gave her the ability to advocate for higher education for women by writing compelling speeches — like the one she delivered to the Methodist conference educational meeting at the Grafton Street church in Halifax, recorded in the *Halifax Herald* on July 2, 1896: "What is this higher education? It is the education of women to fit them for the higher spheres of action, whether they be political, professional, or social — the same education that men need under the same circumstances," she said. "It may be true that women are not welcomed in these positions but still they come, some on bicycles and some off, some with a great deal of noise and confusion, some silently and earnestly. We cannot push this new woman off the track for hydra-like, a dozen would rise in her place."

She went on to demand voting rights, arguing, "if taxation without representation is tyranny when applied to man, is it less so when woman is made to suffer by it? … These new women desire to say by whom they shall be governed, both in politics and religion." Her speech concluded with a remark that would resonate with working mothers, even today: "I am conscious of the imperfection of [my] presentation, but you can attribute that, if you will, to the fact that it was mainly written while rocking the new baby."

With her belief in gender equality, Lockhart took a progressive stance in a society still very much divided on the role of women. By contrast, fellow Maritimer and minister's wife Lucy Maud Montgomery, the famous author of *Anne of Green Gables,* gave lukewarm answers when questioned on the matter of women's suffrage. In 1910 she told the *Boston Post*: "I am not a suffragette…. I am a quiet, plain sort of person, and while I believe a woman, if intelligent, should be allowed to vote, I would have no use for suffrage myself. I have no aspirations to become a politician. I believe a woman's place is in the home."

Lockhart also belonged to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which was established in Canada in 1874. With local branches across Canada and the United States, the WCTU was a non-denominational organization of mainly middle-class women who believed that the disease of alcoholism was ruining society. The WCTU lobbied for nationwide societal changes while also providing social services for communities. While Lockhart's level of involvement with the WCTU is uncertain, it's known that she belonged to the organization because of a family photo in which she wore a small white ribbon, the symbol of membership, pinned to her dress. She also called for alcohol prohibition in her 1896 speech: "Why do women feel this curse [of alcoholism] more than men? Because they are the greatest sufferers by it, because they spend long nights in loneliness, while the children not only cry for bread, but inherit their father's sin."

Not much is known about Lockhart's personal life. One of her sons, Wilfred Thomas Dawson, served as a gunner in the First World War and eventually became a medical doctor. Her two other sons studied engineering. Her husband was a man of delicate health; as they grew older, she became his caregiver.

Lockhart died on May 18, 1916, at the age of sixty-one, after a life spent advocating for women's education and voting rights. In fact, she lived to see the day on January 28, 1916, when the Manitoba legislature became the first in Canada to pass a law allowing women to vote and to stand for office in provincial elections. Sadly, Lockhart herself never had the opportunity to cast a ballot. Had she lived a little longer, the *Wartime Elections Act* would have allowed her, as the mother of a soldier, to vote in the federal election of 1917.

Present-day Mount Allison University students cheer their school.

DEGREES OF PROGRESS

In the 150 years since Mount Allison Wesleyan College opened its doors to female students, women have gone from outcasts to front-runners in Canadian higher education.

In the 1880s, the first female students graduated from Queen's University and the University of Toronto in Ontario; Acadia and Dalhousie universities in Nova Scotia; and McGill University in Quebec. In 1883, Augusta Stowe of Victoria College in Cobourg, Ontario, became the first woman to earn a medical degree in Canada.

In 1920, seventeen per cent of Canadian undergraduate students were women. That rose to thirty-one per cent by 1945. During that time span, higher education was rare for both genders: less than five per cent of Canadians attended university or college.

Beginning in the 1950s, women flocked to university in ever-increasing numbers. By 1979, women made up forty-nine per cent of undergraduates. In the 2018 graduating year, women earned sixty per cent of bachelor's, fifty-six per cent of master's, and forty-eight percent of doctoral degrees in Canada.

MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY/FLICKR

LAIRD ON THE LAM

A railway swindle by a fake Scottish nobleman sparked an international security incident on the Canada–U.S. border.

by Clive Webb

IN 1873, CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES almost went to war — all because of a man who did not exist. That March, a Scottish nobleman named Lord Gordon Gordon negotiated a deal to abet American business magnate Jay Gould in gaining control of the New York-based Erie Railway Company, for which he received one million dollars in cash and company shares. Gould, however, had fallen for a con.

The supposed aristocrat turned out to be a hustler who cashed in the stocks and eventually fled to Manitoba. When Gould pursued him, this private matter soon escalated into a diplomatic incident that seriously tested Canadian border security and national sovereignty.

The nineteenth century was the golden age of the con artist on both sides of the border between Canada and the United States. Among the rogues' gallery of grifters, hustlers, and welchers were a number of Canadians, most infamously Cassie Chadwick (née Elizabeth Bigley), who from the late 1890s defrauded U.S. banks of millions of dollars when she pretended to be the illegitimate daughter and heiress of industrialist Andrew Carnegie.

Only Gordon Gordon, however, incited a diplomatic incident between Canada and the United States that necessitated intervention at the highest level of each country's government. He was, in the words of journalist William Croffut, "one of the most audacious and plausible swindlers and robbers that have taken the highway since Dick Turpin."

Tall and slightly built, Gordon Gordon certainly gave the appearance of a Scottish laird. Draped in tartan fineries, he sported elaborate side whiskers and manicured hands that suggested a man accustomed to high living rather than hard labour. Adding to the illusion was his lilting brogue and gentlemanly deportment — all very impressive for a man who was later rumoured to be the illegitimate child of a clergyman's son and a parlour maid.

Gordon Gordon launched his audacious criminal career in Edinburgh, Scotland, during the late 1860s. Presenting himself as "Lord Glencairn," he ingratiated his way into the homes of affluent families and used their names as references to purchase jewellery on credit from numerous businesses both in Edinburgh and in London, England. Having accumulated tens of thousands of pounds worth of goods, he promptly disappeared.

Changing his alias from Glencairn to Gordon Gordon (sometimes spelled Gordon-Gordon), the bogus aristocrat reappeared in 1871 on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, in Minneapolis. Advertising himself with a large deposit in a local bank, he announced his intention to purchase land for a settlement of Scottish noblemen. Representatives of the Northern Pacific Railroad courted him for months in the hope of persuading him to acquire some surplus land it owned. According to one newspaper account, railroad executives hired a French chef who catered to Gordon Gordon's every whim, serving him "more potted grouse, more cranberry jelly and more champagne." Having wined and dined out of their pockets, however, Gordon Gordon staged a second disappearing act.

He rematerialized in New York City in January 1872. Checking in to the exclusive Metropolitan Hotel, he once more cultivated friendships with wealthy and influential

The pseudonymous Lord Gordon Gordon circa 1870.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES N5815

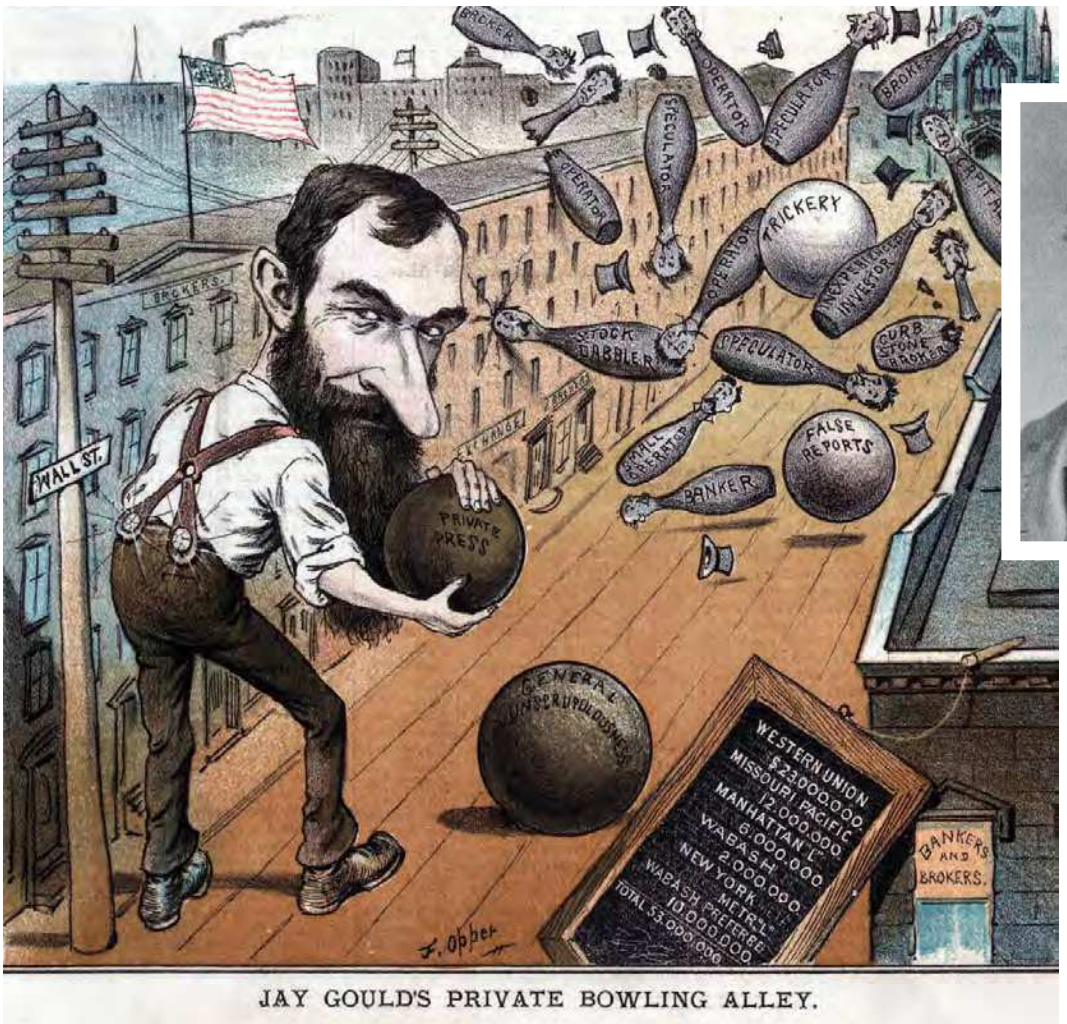
figures. This included former *New York Tribune* editor and presidential candidate Horace Greeley, who arranged the fateful introduction to Jay Gould. Gould was one of the richest men in the United States — and also one of the most despised. He was an archetypal robber baron, one of the industrial magnates who, in their unscrupulous pursuit of wealth, sought monopolistic control over key sectors of the U.S. economy.

Ruthless speculation in the expanding railroad system allowed Gould to amass a fortune estimated at US$77 million (around $2 billion today) by the time of his death in 1892. His deviousness was evident in 1866–68 when he connived with Daniel Drew and James Fisk in a struggle against Cornelius Vanderbilt for control of the Erie Railway, which traversed New York State. Drew, Fisk, Gould, and Vanderbilt all owned shares in the Erie Railway Company. Vanderbilt sought to take control of the company by buying up more than half the stock from other shareholders. In response, Gould and his associates issued watered-down stock in the company that they offered for sale at a price higher than its actual value. Vanderbilt, determined to secure his business takeover, rashly purchased the overpriced stock at a loss of more than $7 million. This enormous financial loss, and his ultimate failure to purchase a controlling interest, forced him to cede control of the company to Fisk and his allies.

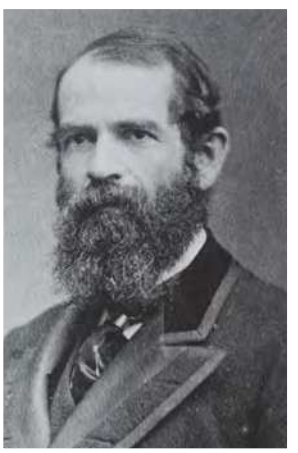
Only a year later, in September 1869, Gould precipitated a panic on Wall Street when he attempted to manipulate the gold market. Acting once more in cahoots with Fisk, Gould bought up huge amounts of gold in order to increase its value so that it could then be sold for the highest possible profit. The scheme relied on bribing federal officials to withhold the sale of government gold reserves, which would have increased market supply and lowered the escalating price.

However, when U.S. President Ulysses Grant learned of the ruse he ordered the immediate selling of $4 million in government gold. The resulting drop in the price of gold led to the events of Black Friday, a financial panic on September 24, 1869, that ruined many investors. Having sold his gold before the market collapsed, Gould emerged unscathed. The master manipulator of the market was, however, about to become the victim of a massive fraud.

Gordon Gordon persuaded Gould that he owned $30 million of stock in the Erie Railway and had control of a further $20 million in the possession of fellow Scottish aristocrats. Sensing the opportunity to further consolidate his control



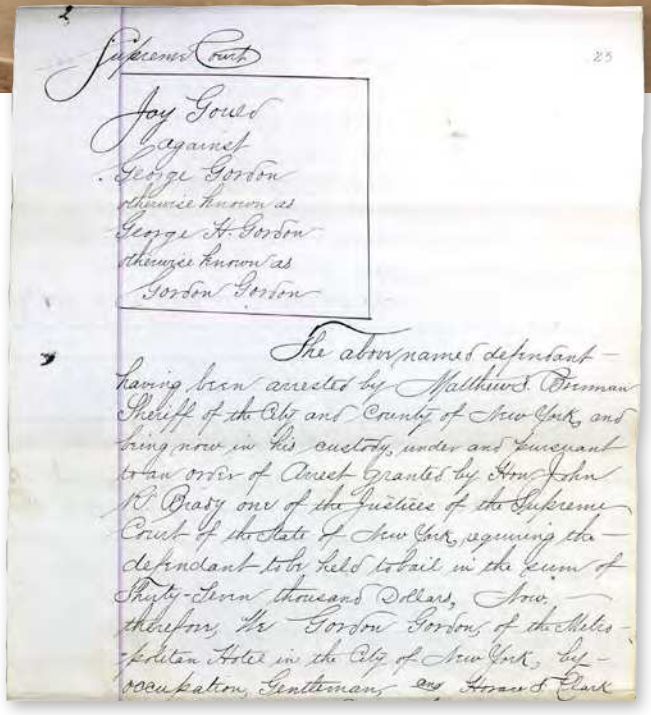
JAY GOULD'S PRIVATE BOWLING ALLEY.



Above: Railway speculator Jay Gould in the late 1800s.

Left: An editorial cartoon shows Gould on Wall Street using bowling balls labelled "Private Press," "General Unscrupulousness," "False Reports," and "Trickery" to knock down pins representing bankers, stock brokers, and investors. A chalkboard in the foreground lists Gould's holdings in various railroads.

BOTTOM LEFT: ALAMY DYE87K. RIGHT: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS 91482972


Supreme Court

Jay Gould
against
George Gordon
otherwise known as
George A. Gordon
otherwise known as
Gordon Gordon

The above named defendant having been arrested by Matthew T. Brennan Sheriff of the City and County of New York, and being now in his custody, under and pursuant to an order of Arrest Granted by Hon. John R. Brady one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, requiring the defendant to be held to bail in the sum of Fifty-Seven thousand Dollars, Now therefore, We Gordon Gordon, of the Metropolitan Hotel in the City of New York, by occupation, Gentleman, and Francis Clark

Top: Upper Fort Garry, on the banks of the Assiniboine River in the area that would soon become Winnipeg, circa 1872.

Above: An 1872 court document recording the $37,000 bail posted for Lord Gordon Gordon's release pending his trial in New York.

of the railway, Gould offered Gordon Gordon a bribe of $1 million in cash and securities in return for him using his influence as a large investor to affect the outcome of the forthcoming election of board directors.

Having played Gould for a sucker, Gordon Gordon immediately sold a large part of the securities. Realizing he had been conned, the railroad magnate sued to recover his losses. He also persuaded New York authorities to bring a criminal fraud charge against his nemesis. Gordon Gordon was arrested but used the influence he still possessed to raise the $37,000 needed to post bail.

The legal fight between the two men that began in May 1872 was a protracted farce. Gordon Gordon counter-sued, failed at first to turn up in court, and then, while lawyers futilely chased after the fake character references he produced in his defence, promptly absconded.

The Scottish swindler resurfaced in October 1872 at Fort Garry, Manitoba. When Gould learned of Gordon Gordon's whereabouts, he tried to persuade Canadian authorities to arrest him, but failed. However, after one of the people who had posted bail for Gordon Gordon in New York died, his family liaised with the mayor of Minneapolis, George Brackett, to go after the fraudster. Brackett's chief of police, Michael Hoy, accepted the assignment along with Sergeant Owen Keegan. Along with two co-conspirators, they devised a plan to sneak into Canada, kidnap Gordon Gordon, and smuggle him back into the United States to recover the bail money.

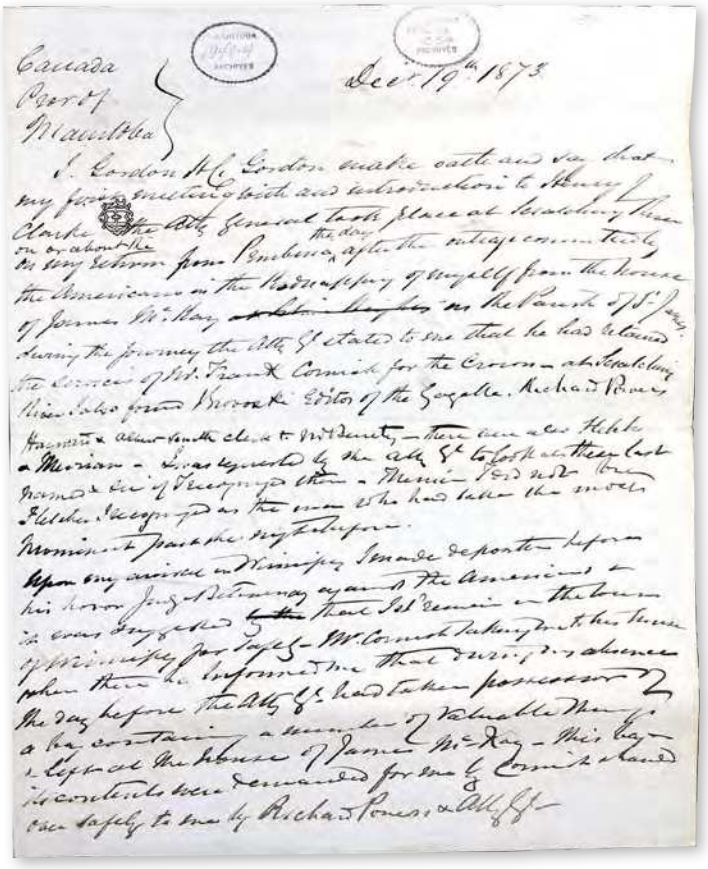
As the fake lord hid out in Fort Garry and the vigilantes plotted his abduction, a private dispute over money was about to become part of the broader ongoing dispute over border relations between Canada and the United States.

The border had long been a source of instability and conflict. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty of August 1842 was intended to facilitate co-operation in cross-border law enforcement by providing for the extradition of fugitives accused of "murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or

TOP: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / D.M. BEACH OLD & RARE BOOKS COLLECTION / E011308319-004. LOWER: MANITOBA ARCHIVES

the utterance of forged paper." Local authorities, however, at times proved reluctant — or, in the case of fugitive slaves who fled from the United States to Canada, openly unwilling — to comply with extradition orders.

Further disputes occurred during the U.S. Civil War when Confederate soldiers, spies, and saboteurs established a covert network across several Canadian cities, including Halifax, Montreal, and Toronto. They staged a number of cross-border raids, including an October 1864 bank heist in St. Albans, Vermont. Canadian authorities arrested the marauders and returned the recovered money. However, a court ruled that the extradition of the soldiers would violate Canadian neutrality and ordered their release, arousing fury in the northern United States. "It may be said that this will lead to a war with England," asserted the *New York Times*. "So it may. But if it must come, let it come." Caution eventually prevailed, but for a time there was a threat that Canada would be the battleground for a new war between Britain and the United States.



Canada
Province
Manitoba

Dec. 19th 1873

I, Gordon M.C. Gordon make oath and say that
my former evidence [illegible] and information to Henry J.
Clarke the Atty General took place at Headley Town
on or about the [illegible] day of [illegible] after the interference took
in my behalf from Pembina after the attempt of myself from the house
the Americans in the Possession of [illegible] on the Parish of St. James
of James McKay [illegible] and during the journey the Atty Gl stated to me that he had obtained
the services of Mr. Frank Cornish for the Crown also Archibald
McLellan from Brooks Editor of the Gazette, Richard Powers
Freemont & Allen Smith clerk to Mr Dewney — there are also Hebert
a Mexican — I was ejected by the Atty Gl to look at the Cart
Hebert I recognized as the man who had taken the most
Prominent part in the Scuffle before.
Upon my arrival in Winnipeg I made deposition before
his Honor Judge Betournay against the Americans &
in consequence [illegible] Mr. Cornish taking out the warrant
of Mr. Hoy for Capt. Mr. Cornish informed me that during my absence
when there he informed me that during my absence
the day before the Atty Gl had taken possession of
a box containing a number of Valuable Papers
belonging to the house of James McKay — this box
its contents were demanded for me by Cornish and
was safely to me by Richard Powers & Atty Gl

Top left: Minnesota State Legislature Representative Loren Fletcher, who conspired in Lord Gordon Gordon's kidnapping, circa 1893.

Top right: Minneapolis Chief of Police Michael Hoy, who led the posse to seize Gordon Gordon, in 1885.

Above: A handwritten affidavit by Gordon Gordon describes "the outrage committed by the Americans in the kidnapping of myself" and subsequent events.

In the years immediately following Confederation, policing the border was a problem because of its sheer size. On November 19, 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company ceded control of Rupert's Land, an enormous territory of almost eight million square kilometres, to the British Crown. Following the suppression of the Red River Resistance, the Crown in turn handed control to Canada on July 15, 1870. After British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871, the border between Canada and the United States stretched more than eight thousand kilometres from coast to coast. Maintaining its integrity became even more of an issue with the departure of the British garrison from Canada in 1871.

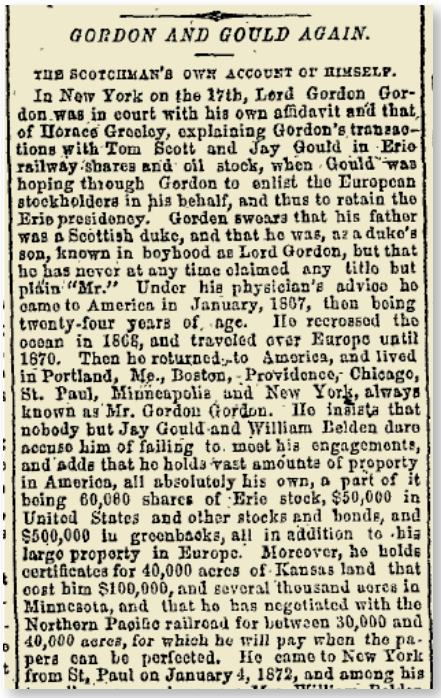
The incursions of American criminals across the border caused continued difficulties for the newly formed Dominion of Canada. Smuggling, counterfeiting, and kidnapping threatened the creation and maintenance of law and order. One episode that inflamed a furious response from Canadians occurred almost simultaneously with the attempted kidnapping of Gordon Gordon.

On June 1, 1873, drunken wolf hunters who had crossed the border from Fort Benton in Montana Territory launched an assault on an Assiniboine camp in the Cypress Hills of what is now southwestern Saskatchewan. The attackers killed at least twenty-three men, women, and children, mutilating their bodies in what local Indian agent Major A.J. Simmons described as "a most outrageous and disgusting manner." None of the victims was responsible for the theft of the murderers' horses — the alleged crime the wolf hunters were claiming to avenge.

Efforts by Canadian authorities to bring the murderers to justice ended in failure. The incident was instrumental in the creation of the North West Mounted Police in 1873. Newly appointed Assistant Commissioner James Macleod received authorization from both sides of the border to pursue an investigation in Montana Territory. However, his attempt to secure the detention and extradition of the hunters led to Macleod himself being charged with false arrest by local authorities. When Canadian authorities later apprehended three of the suspects who had crossed back over the border into Canada, the U.S. State Department stonewalled their trial on the grounds that Americans who gave evidence would have no immunity from being arrested and prosecuted. The Crown's case collapsed, and the accused men walked free.

It was against the backdrop of these events that on July 2, 1873, the two American vigilantes, Hoy and Keegan, carried out their plot to kidnap Gordon Gordon. They seized him in Fort Garry, bound his hands and feet, and bundled him into a covered wagon. The phoney aristocrat, bearing wounds he

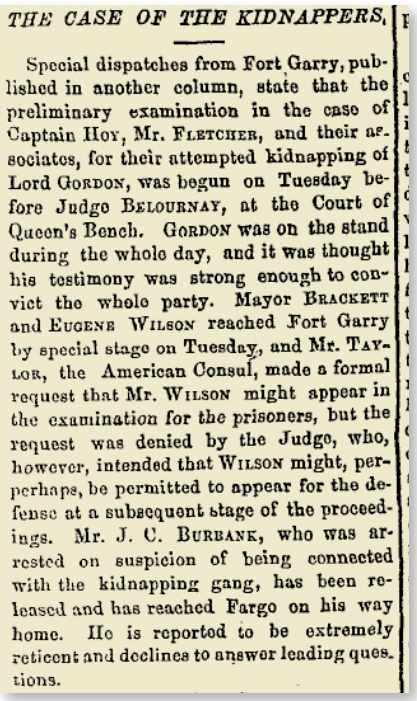
TOP LEFT: HISTORY OF THE CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA. BY ISAAC ATWATER. 1893. TOP RIGHT: STAR TRIBUNE, MINNEAPOLIS MINESOTA, MARCH 21, 1885. LOWER: MANITOBA ARCHIVES



GORDON AND GOULD AGAIN.

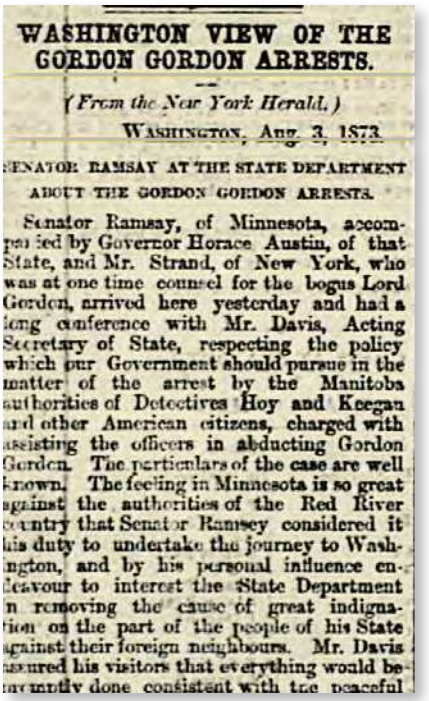
THE SCOTCHMAN'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF.

In New York on the 17th, Lord Gordon Gordon was in court with his own affidavit and that of Horace Greeley, explaining Gordon's transactions with Tom Scott and Jay Gould in Erie railway shares and oil stock, when Gould was hoping through Gordon to enlist the European stockholders in his behalf, and thus to retain the Erie presidency. Gordon swears that his father was a Scottish duke, and that he was, as a duke's son, known in boyhood as Lord Gordon, but that he has never at any time claimed any title but plain "Mr." Under his physician's advice he came to America in January, 1867, then being twenty-four years of age. He recrossed the ocean in 1868, and traveled over Europe until 1870. Then he returned to America, and lived in Portland, Me., Boston, Providence, Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and New York, always known as Mr. Gordon Gordon. He insists that nobody but Jay Gould and William Belden dare accuse him of failing to meet his engagements, and adds that he holds vast amounts of property in America, all absolutely his own, a part of it being 60,000 shares of Erie stock, $50,000 in United States and other stocks and bonds, and $500,000 in greenbacks, all in addition to his large property in Europe. Moreover, he holds certificates for 40,000 acres of Kansas land that cost him $100,000, and several thousand acres in Minnesota, and that he has negotiated with the Northern Pacific railroad for between 30,000 and 40,000 acres, for which he will pay when the papers can be perfected. He came to New York from St. Paul on January 4, 1872, and among his



THE CASE OF THE KIDNAPPERS.

Special dispatches from Fort Garry, published in another column, state that the preliminary examination in the case of Captain Hoy, Mr. Fletcher, and their associates, for their attempted kidnapping of Lord Gordon, was begun on Tuesday before Judge Belournay, at the Court of Queen's Bench. Gordon was on the stand during the whole day, and it was thought his testimony was strong enough to convict the whole party. Mayor Brackett and Eugene Wilson reached Fort Garry by special stage on Tuesday, and Mr. Taylor, the American Consul, made a formal request that Mr. Wilson might appear in the examination for the prisoners, but the request was denied by the Judge, who, however, intended that Wilson might, perperhaps, be permitted to appear for the defense at a subsequent stage of the proceedings. Mr. J. C. Burbank, who was arrested on suspicion of being connected with the kidnapping gang, has been released and has reached Fargo on his way home. He is reported to be extremely reticent and declines to answer leading questions.



WASHINGTON VIEW OF THE GORDON GORDON ARRESTS.

(From the New York Herald.)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 3, 1873.

SENATOR RAMSAY AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT ABOUT THE GORDON GORDON ARRESTS.

Senator Ramsay, of Minnesota, accompanied by Governor Horace Austin, of that State, and Mr. Strand, of New York, who was at one time counsel for the bogus Lord Gordon, arrived here yesterday and had a long conference with Mr. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, respecting the policy which our Government should pursue in the matter of the arrest by the Manitoba authorities of Detectives Hoy and Keegan and other American citizens, charged with assisting the officers in abducting Gordon Gordon. The particulars of the case are well known. The feeling in Minnesota is so great against the authorities of the Red River country that Senator Ramsey considered it his duty to undertake the journey to Washington, and by his personal influence endeavour to interest the State Department in removing the cause of great indignation on the part of the people of his State against their foreign neighbours. Mr. Davis assured his visitors that everything would be promptly done consistent with the peaceful

Above left: The *Winona Daily Republican* of May 22, 1872, reports on Lord Gordon Gordon's appearance in a New York courtroom. Centre: The *Winona Daily Republican* of July 10, 1873, describes the preliminary court proceedings against Gordon Gordon's kidnappers. Right: The *Toronto Globe* of August 8, 1873, chronicles the diplomatic intervention to free Gordon Gordon's kidnappers from jail.

claimed his captors had inflicted, later told Fort Garry officials how he "turned round and demanded by what authority they did this, and wanted to see their papers; Hoy said he would give me papers enough if I did not shut up."

Before the kidnappers could reach the border, however, the North West Mounted Police apprehended them. They also arrested their two accomplices, George Merriman and Loren Fletcher, the latter a prominent member of the Minnesota State Legislature. Judge Charles McKeagney of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench granted bail to Merriman but denied it to the other conspirators. Thus, two American officers of the law and an elected state representative were set to face trial in Canada for kidnapping.

Reaction across the border was divided. In New York State the *Rochester Federal Union* concluded that the abductors knew they were acting outside the law because they made no attempt to apply to Canadian authorities for assistance. To those who protested the arrest and detainment of the American vigilantes, the newspaper cautioned that, had it been Canadians who crossed into the United States to kidnap a fugitive, "indignation would be heard throughout the land."

Other newspapers were more critical of the Canadian legal system. Although the *Minnesotan Chatfield Democrat* had little sympathy for the "avaricious adventurers" who attempted to abduct Gordon Gordon, it also anticipated that American vigilantes might seek "a little fun" against what it described as "Manitoba greasers."

The use of this phrase in the *Democrat* and other newspapers articulated the antipathy that some Americans near the border felt towards their northern neighbours. A "greaser" was more commonly a term of racial invective directed against Mexicans. Its meaning as a term of abuse for Canadians is unclear, but it could have been meant to indicate the supposed corruption of the Canadian criminal justice system. The journalist Crofutt, for instance, made the unsubstantiated claim that Manitoba Attorney General Henry Clarke had offered to release the prisoners in return for Minneapolis Mayor Brackett buying a plot of land he owned for $14,500.

Whatever the truth, some Minnesotans were evidently willing to retaliate against what they perceived as an act of provocation by Canadian authorities. On July 8, 1873, a placard appeared outside the office of St. Paul's *Minnesota Pioneer* that read, "One thousand recruits wanted for immediate service in Manitoba." At first this appeared to be little more than a bit of mischief. According to one newspaper report, the "Hoy Avengers" would each receive ninety rounds of ammunition and a canteen of brown ale. Yet, according to the *Minneapolis Daily Tribune*, "many faces which in the morning wore broad grins were lengthened as the day grew shorter" as the promised ale and ammo failed to appear.

Tensions continued to escalate. Fletcher, the Minnesota state representative, became ill and feared he would die in his prison cell. A telegram sent on his behalf beseeched Minnesota authorities to take action: "Come quick. Am in a hell of a fix." The message had its intended effect. "If Fletcher and the rest of the boys are not released by next week," announced the *Willmar Republican*, the United States "shall proceed to declare war." Minnesota Governor Horace Austin then warned that, if Manitoba authorities refused to release the prisoners, the consequences would be "deplorable."

Manitobans reacted with righteous anger to the threats to their provincial and national sovereignty. The *Manitoba*

TOP LEFT AND CENTRE: NEWSPAPERARCHIVES.COM. TOP RIGHT: PROQUEST HISTORICAL NEWSPAPERS

Above: Canadian Royal Engineers sappers build a boundary marker in 1874 between present-day Alberta and Montana. Fugitives could escape the law by slipping across the sparsely defended Canada-U.S. border. Left: North West Mounted Police officers in London, England, in 1897. The police force was created, in part, to patrol the border.

Free Press declared that it had no more regard for Gordon Gordon than newspapers across the border but, unlike them, still believed he was entitled to the full protection of the law. By contrast, the appeals to the mob made by Minnesota newspapers gave "credence to the wildest reports we have heard of American disregard for law — international and otherwise." The *Free Press* was furious that U.S. newspapers should portray the newly created province of Manitoba as a lawless frontier. It warned Americans: "Don't poke fun at us, for in this case at least you must see that the laugh is not all on your side."

These were not idle warnings. Manitoba Attorney General Clarke urged officials at the Department of Justice in Ottawa to demand that Washington recall U.S. Consul James Wickes Taylor "from an office he has disgraced" by inciting the vengeance of Minnesotans. Articulating national rivalries, Clarke proclaimed that in appealing "to the passions of the mob" Taylor was "doing something that may be tolerated in the United States, but which cannot be allowed here."

Given the background of cross-border tensions, it is understandable how a small spark such as the arrest of Gordon Gordon's kidnappers could threaten to ignite the flames of military conflict. However, diplomacy eventually prevailed over war. Governor Austin and Mayor Brackett travelled to Washington, D.C., for an audience with President Grant and Secretary of State Hamilton Fish. This led to a meeting in Ottawa with Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. The result of these negotiations was that in September 1873 the prisoners, who had been held in custody pending trial, each received a cursory one-day sentence before being released.

In response to a request from Manitoban authorities for $5,900.26 to cover the costs of the American kidnappers' trial — which had necessitated convening an additional session of the Court of Queen's Bench — the Canadian government deemed this "very exorbitant and far in excess of accounts rendered for similar services in other parts of the Dominion." The Department of Justice offered the reduced sum of $3,950.26. While the kidnappers were now free, so too was Gordon Gordon. For almost a year he continued his life of leisure in Manitoba. His criminal career, however, was about to reach a dramatic end.

In 1874, a Toronto magistrate issued two warrants for Gordon Gordon's arrest. The persistent railway baron Gould had tracked down Marshall and Sons, one of the Edinburgh jewellers defrauded years before by the con man. A representative of the firm had travelled to Toronto, where, on the basis of photographic evidence, he had identified Lord Glencairn and Gordon Gordon as the same man. The magistrate authorized warrants for his arrest on charges of obtaining goods under false pretences and bringing stolen goods into Canada.

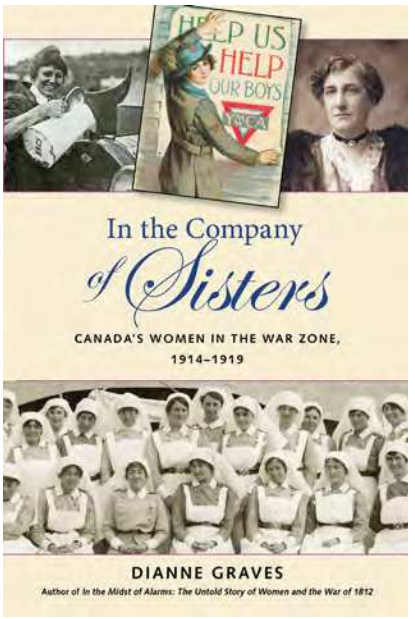
Alexander Munro of the Toronto police tracked down Gordon Gordon to a cottage in Headingley, a small community west of Winnipeg. On August 1, 1874, Munro woke the con artist from his sleep, watched him dress, and started to lead him out of the cottage, only to see Gordon Gordon reach abruptly for a revolver. "I made a rush towards him to prevent his shooting," Munro later testified at an inquest. "I expected it was meant for myself and as I was about getting hold of him the shot went off." Gordon Gordon had not aimed the gun at the police officer, however, but pointed it at his own head. According to the physician who examined him, the bullet went "straight into the brain and just above the right ear."

Munro leaned close to hear the dying man's last words but could not catch their meaning. The life and career of one of the most audacious con artists of the nineteenth century had come to a sudden, shocking conclusion.

Gordon Gordon's suicide did not, however, resolve the problem of policing the U.S.-Canadian border. Although the case led to greater collaboration between officials to arrest criminals who crossed from one country to the other, illegal activities including smuggling and robbery continued to cause friction. So, too, did the migration of Indigenous people who resisted the division of their ancestral homelands. In 1883, the United States proposed an agreement for the pursuit of Indigenous people across the border, but Canadian authorities declined.

As for Gordon Gordon, police examining his corpse found only thirty-seven cents in the pockets of the supposed millionaire. To this day, the real identity of the ersatz aristocrat remains unknown.

LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. RIGHT: ROYAL ENGINEERS PHOTO


HELP US
HELP
OUR BOYS
In the Company
of Sisters
CANADA'S WOMEN IN THE WAR ZONE,
1914–1919
DIANNE GRAVES
Author of In the Midst of Alarms: The Untold Story of Women and the War of 1812

DOING THEIR PART

In the Company of Sisters: Canada's Women in the War Zone, 1914–1919

by Dianne Graves
Robin Brass Studio,
384 pages, $27.95

The Great War was a titanic event in Canadian history. The total war effort from 1914 to 1918 involved more than 620,000 men serving in uniform, as well as almost three thousand nurses. However, a new book by historian Dianne Graves — author of the seminal biography of John McCrae and a fine work on women in the War of 1812 — goes beyond the nurses to explore the role of women volunteers overseas (known as VADs), patriotic work by women in England, entertainers behind the front lines, peace activists, journalists, and artists.

Drawing upon a wealth of literature and archival material, *In the Company of Sisters* lets the women's voices guide the narrative. The war was "no paltry struggle in an out-of-the-way corner," recounted author Lucy Maud Montgomery, "but a death grapple." Most women sought to do their part in this fight to the finish between empires, but Graves focuses on Canadian women in the war zone.

Several chapters are devoted to the Canadian women who served as nursing sisters, offering insight into the terrible strain of treating and caring for wounded soldiers who arrived day and night at medical units. One nurse wrote of the mangled men, "I can never see anything worse and I hope I'll never have to." The nursing experience is explored along the Western Front and in Britain but also in far-flung theatres of war like the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece, and Russia. While the book's interpretive framework draws on the existing rich scholarship about nursing, Graves draws out powerful stories from what one Canadian nursing sister called the "ward of horrors!"

Some of the book's best chapters look at the contribution of other Canadian women overseas. Lady Julia Drummond, a wealthy socialite from Montreal, lost her son in the early part of the war. Like so many mothers, she was determined to aid her son's comrades. In London, England, she organized Red Cross work to ensure that letters and goods were sent to soldiers at the front and to prisoners held in camps, and she occasionally offered comfort to desperate families in Canada who sought information about fallen or missing soldiers.

Some of Drummond's work was reported by Mary MacLeod Moore, one of several Canadian journalists who worked in England. Moore wrote for *Saturday Night* magazine, and her insights into the war have been shared in this book.

There are other fascinating stories, including many related to the thirty thousand women who crossed the Atlantic to be close to their husbands who were serving as soldiers. Most of these women came from the middle or upper class in Canada, with working-class women generally unable to afford a voyage. It was a dangerous trip, with enemy submarines prowling the Atlantic, and Canadian women were among those killed when RMS *Lusitania* was sunk in May 1915 by a German U-boat.

The peace activism of Julia Grace Wales provides insight into women who were seeking an end to the war, while the art of Mary Riter Hamilton, the subject of recent two biographies, rounds out Graves' book. Hamilton suffered tremendous hardship as she painted from the ruins of the Western Front following the armistice, and she left a legacy of art.

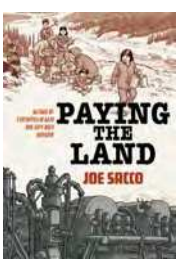
In the Company of Sisters offers a focused study of the First World War's impact on women as well as their contributions to the Canadian war effort. The book is illustrated with many fine images, including some that have never before been published. Sadly, author Dianne Graves died in 2021. This book, like her others, will live on as a significant contribution to our understanding of Canadian experiences during times of war.

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, the author of several books, including *The Secret History of Soldiers* (2018) and *The Fight for History* (2020).

ILLUSTRATING SURVIVAL

Paying the Land

by Joe Sacco
Metropolitan Books, 272 pages, $39.99



If it seems difficult to imagine how a white man who was born in Europe and lives in the United States could create a moving, complex history of Dene life in the Northwest Territories over the past half century, just wait — it gets

better. Joe Sacco manages to do all of that … in monochrome comics.

But despite all the reasons why *Paying the Land* shouldn't work, this graphic novel is in fact a breathtaking book that all Canadians would benefit from reading. It powerfully illuminates the dignity of life on the land, that life's near destruction by outside forces, and the possibility of resurgence. The vast majority of the text comes directly from interviews with a range of Dene politicians, activists, and ordinary people as well as a few non-Indigenous observers. Sacco includes himself as a secondary character, mostly to highlight his ignorance, to fill in detail, or to move the story to a new time or location.

The focus, though, stays firmly on the Dene, presenting their experiences in their own blunt, devastating words. The book starts with a portrait of a community intimately connected to its territory, as Paul Andrew remembers it. People fish, hunt, set up camp, celebrate — all of it done together, the children learning by watching and listening as everyone plays a role. Without romanticism, Sacco deftly conveys both the hard work that is required and the beauty of a communal culture almost completely separate from Canada.

That life and that separation cannot, of course, continue. Soon the focus shifts to the encroachment of European colonizers who are keen on the rich resources the Dene have stewarded since time immemorial. Treaties and furs, mines and the doctrine of discovery, roads and diamonds, and alcohol and pipelines slowly, sickeningly work to corrupt the circle of community.

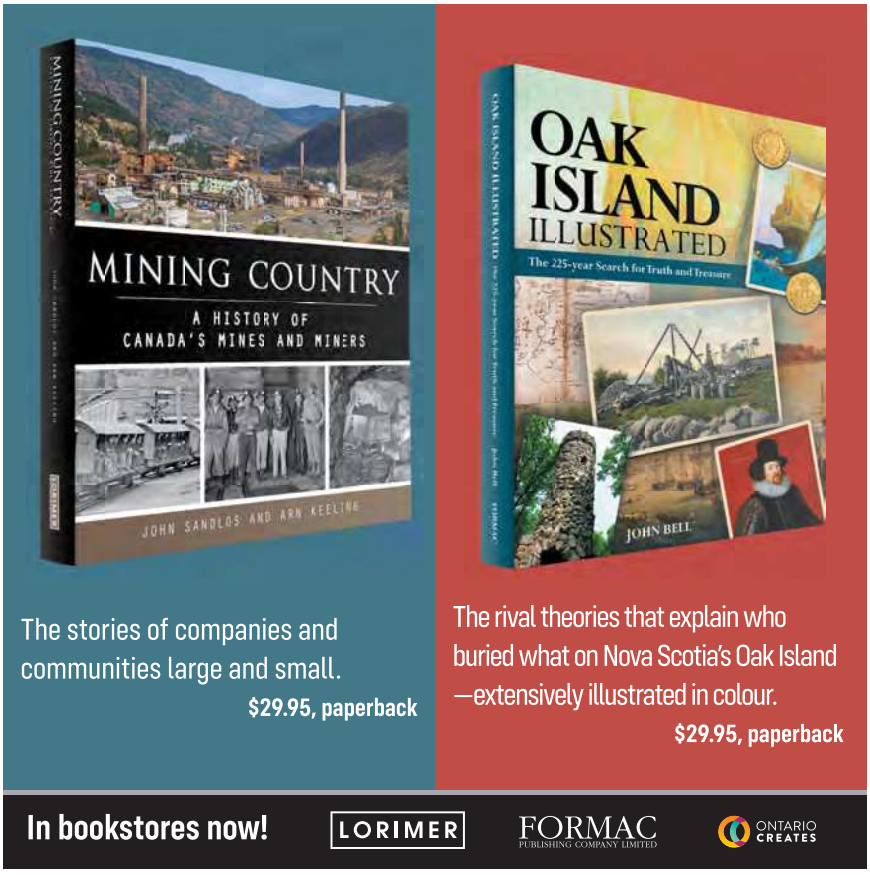
Sacco weaves together the narrators' stories, moving back and forth through time while capturing a look or a posture that says much more than words ever could. Marie Wilson, who was one of three commissioners of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, flatly describes five-year-olds being raped on their first day at a residential school by older children who had been cut off from family and from their culture's ideas of collective well-being. Those children then somehow had to figure out how to live with each other back home.

Perhaps the book's greatest strength is its insistence on avoiding easy answers. Sacco literally illustrates the differing points of view among the Dene about how to handle resource extraction and land claims, laying out the agonizing complexity for readers but pushing no particular conclusions. He includes an interview with a genuinely kind priest, one with a residential school survivor who expresses appreciation for the chance to learn English, and another with a young woman who criticizes the lack of initiative among the men of her age. Throughout, Sacco highlights each person's humanity, keenly aware of the history of people like him coming north to take without giving.

Indeed, his scorn is provoked by what he learns on a tour of the defunct Giant Mine, whose gold-mining legacy includes more than two hundred thousand tonnes of arsenic. He is told that the lethal waste is contained for a good one hundred years or so. "What is the world view of a people who mumble no thanks or prayers," he writes over ever-darker panels, "who take what they want from the land, and pay it back with arsenic?"

It would undermine the book's integrity to describe the ending as happy — there is no neat resolution, and nor should there be. After having met thoughtful young Dene activists and having seen the persistence of some traditional ways, the reader can only marvel at the most important conclusion of all: that, after all they have been subjected to, the Dene are still here, still vital, still connected to their territory.

Reviewed by **Nancy Payne**, a contributing editor for *Canada's History* magazine and the editor of *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*.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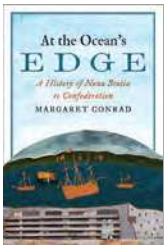
COASTAL CHRONICLE

At the Ocean's Edge: A History of Nova Scotia to Confederation

by Margaret Conrad
University of Toronto Press,
455 pages, $39.95



Condensing centuries of history into a single volume is a Herculean task, even when the subject is Canada's second-smallest province. Nova Scotia may be modest in terms of land mass, but its human history is vast, spanning millennia of occupation by Indigenous peoples, waves of European settlement, a succession of imperial wars, captures, and counterattacks, and a golden age as a powerhouse of seaborne commerce.

Who better to bring order to this historical chaos than Margaret Conrad, a retired professor of history at the University of New Brunswick and a keen student of Nova Scotia's past? *At the Ocean's Edge* is her ambitious effort to bring fresh eyes to the province's story by incorporating the latest research and insights as well as marginalized voices and points of view. It's a resounding success.

"The outpouring of new scholarship on Nova Scotia's pre-Confederation past," she writes, "offers exciting, if troubling, new perspectives that call into question long-held assumptions about what happened in this European colony perched on the western edge of the Atlantic Ocean" — and, importantly, what happened before it became a European colony. Conrad's opening chapters examine life in Mi'kma'ki — archeological finds confirm that it was home to the Mi'kmaq at least 10,600 years ago — before the first French settlement was established near Annapolis Royal in 1605.

The author reassesses accounts of Indigenous life and culture produced by missionaries and other early visitors, reminding us that the primitive living conditions and brutality some of these interlopers observed differed little from the plight of Europe's peasants and the cruel punishments meted out to criminals in the missionaries' homelands. The infamous bounty offered by British commander Edward Cornwallis for Mi'kmaq scalps after he founded Halifax in 1749, she asserts, was part of a "genocidal campaign against Indigenous peoples."

Other minority groups receive the attention they deserve. The French-speaking Acadians who called Nova Scotia home for almost 150 years were rounded up and deported in the 1750s, and Conrad identifies this act of British cruelty and injustice for what it was: "a brutal ethnic cleansing." The racist mistreatment and marginalization of Blacks who sought refuge in Nova Scotia to escape enslavement, after siding with the British in the American Revolution and the War of 1812, is exposed and condemned.

There is light as well as darkness in this retelling of Nova Scotia's history, including Halifax's reign as Britain's North Atlantic military bastion and, in Kipling's phrase, "Warden of the Honour of the North"; the literary achievements of pioneering author Thomas Chandler Haliburton; geologist Abraham Gesner's distillation of coal to produce kerosene; and the educational initiatives of Pictou's Thomas McCulloch.

But Conrad never loses sight of the often-overlooked stories of minorities and women. A giant of Nova Scotia history such as newspaperman turned politician Joseph Howe shares the stage with Rose Fortune, a Black Loyalist entrepreneur and innkeeper in Annapolis Royal who is considered Canada's first policewoman.

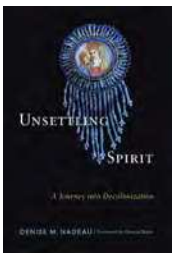
Nova Scotia was dragged, kicking and screaming, into Confederation in 1867, as one of Canada's four founding provinces. Howe led a spirited but failed anti-Confederation movement, making him, in effect, our first separatist. The province that was at the centre of so much history found itself marginalized and bypassed as Canada and the United States expanded westward. As Conrad's thoroughly researched and accessible study ends, Nova Scotia is about to enter a new phase of its history, this time "at the continent's edge."

Reviewed by **Dean Jobb**, the award-winning author of *The Case of the Murderous Dr. Cream* and *Empire of Deception*. He teaches non-fiction writing at the University of King's College in Halifax.

CANDID REFLECTIONS

Unsettling Spirit: A Journey into Decolonization

by Denise M. Nadeau
McGill-Queen's University Press,
360 pages, $37.95



The book *Unsettling Spirit: A Journey into Decolonization* invites readers to pursue an uncomfortable examination of Canadian colonial history and culture. Through the lens of her sixteen-generation settler origins, author Denise Nadeau, an affiliate professor of religion and culture at Concordia University, dissects the ways in which her forebears made assumptions about resource extraction and commodification. At the same time, she walks readers through her own interactions with several Indigenous groups.

Nadeau's book frames the consideration of colonialism within her personal history. She is a white francophone, possibly with some Mi'kmaq ancestry, who grew up in Montreal during the 1950s and 1960s. She describes her early Roman Catholic upbringing and religious studies that were followed by activism and leadership in various organizations engaged with bettering Indigenous lives, particularly women's lives in Fort Simpson, N.W.T.; Comox, B.C.; Vancouver's Downtown Eastside; Bad River, Wisconsin;

and her ancestral home, Port-Daniel, Quebec. Over the course of more than forty years, she became a self-identified "social justice warrior."

Nadeau takes autoethnography beyond what is expected of a genre that explores the role of ethnicity in an author's life. She does this by examining the ways in which her actions have intersected with colonial objectives, and Nadeau's brave openness in linking her own life to colonial outcomes lifts her study beyond what might have been a depressing account of wrong-headed European and Roman Catholic goals. Her objectives are grounded in finding ways for both settlers and Indigenous people to navigate troubling present-day realities and beyond them to some level of harmony. All Canadians will gain from her candid self-reflections.

While Nadeau mentions having facilitated workshops, she does not elaborate on the goals or methods that she advocates; nor does she clarify whether her approach follows specific models. She merely suggests that her primary objective has been to support Indigenous leaders in managing conflicts and problems through their time-honoured traditional means. She also does not address current challenges such as the opiate crisis. Yet these minor criticisms are far outweighed by the book's strengths.

For me, the main strength of *Unsettling Spirit* is the book's instructive commentary on differences between the colonists' and Indigenous peoples' world views. Recognizing that there are differences among First Nations, Nadeau highlights her understanding of Indigenous customs. Her discussion includes conceptions of owning property (something that was largely alien to Indigenous people) and the presenting of gifts, especially tobacco. Nadeau's book includes a detailed explanation of Indigenous belief in the sacred interconnectedness of humans, water, forests, and, indeed, all sentient and insentient beings.

Unsettling Spirit offers a radical departure from earlier books by women of faith. For example, in *North to Share: The Sisters of Saint Ann in Alaska and the Yukon Territory*, Catholic sisters Margaret Cantwell and Mary George Edmond conveyed unquestioned assumptions regarding their role in bringing Christianity to Indigenous groups. In contrast, Nadeau continually questions her faith and modifies her practice to include aspects of other approaches to spirituality. Over the nearly thirty years since the publication of *North to Share*, changes have occurred in religious philosophies, and these have been guided most dramatically and positively by the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada that occurred between 2008 and 2014 and that highlighted the damaging effects of residential schools.

Nadeau emphasizes that her purpose is "not to presume to write about Indigenous lifeways." Rather, she says, "it is to write about decolonization as a process, a calling, and a positive way of being." She succeeds in this by offering a personal approach to spirituality that supplements the excellent recent collection of essays about Indigenous creativity entitled *Arts of Engagement: Taking Aesthetic Action In and Beyond the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*.

In the foreword to *Unsettling Spirit*, Cree-Métis author Deanna Reder notes that Nadeau discusses issues of significance to Indigenous people that include "belonging and identity, blood quantum, the politics of trauma, and the relationship to water and treaty responsibilities." Nadeau does this by taking readers into the heart of these matters while revealing her personal experiences, her own conflicts, and her struggles to understand and to assist Indigenous people. Readers will leave the book with a better understanding of Indigeneity and a desire, like Nadeau's, to examine their lives and to take decolonizing actions.

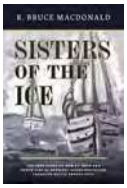
Reviewed by **Carolyn D. Redl**, a scholar of Arctic women's narratives who taught at Athabasca University from 2003 to 2018.

MORE BOOKS

Sisters of the Ice: The True Story of How St. Roch and North Star of Herschel Island Protected Canadian Arctic Sovereignty

by R. Bruce Macdonald

Harbour Publishing, 160 pages, $19.95



"If these hulls could talk…." That's what popped to mind as I picked up R. Bruce Macdonald's new book on two vessels that loom large in the story of the Canadian Arctic.

One ship, the *St. Roch*, made history in 1940–42 as the first vessel to travel the Northwest Passage west to east and later, in 1950, as the first to circumnavigate North America. The other ship, *North Star of Herschel Island* — built in 1935 for Inuvialut fur traders — also acted as a vital transportation link for the Indigenous inhabitants of Herschel Island, which lies a few kilometres off the northern coast of Yukon Territory.

Macdonald, the author of *Sisters of the Ice*, is also the current owner of the *North Star of Herschel Island*. In his book, he details the often-wild history of the western Arctic region, which at one time was the nexus of a major international whaling trade. At its peak, the region's whaling fleet counted fifteen ships carrying more than five hundred men from around the world. When the crewmen weren't at sea, they often made harbour at Herschel Island, where they drank, scuffled, caroused, and generally disrupted the lives of the Inuvialut people of the region.

Macdonald explains how the *St. Roch*, a Royal Canadian Mounted Police schooner, was tasked in 1928 with carrying officers and supplies to the Arctic in an effort to impose Canadian law as well as to assert Canada's sovereignty over the region. The *St. Roch* operated in the Arctic until 1954. He also recounts the role the *North Star of Herschel Island* played in help-

ing to keep the Canadian Arctic out of American and Russian hands.

Briskly written, the book is an engaging look at a fascinating period of Canadian history. With a sufficient selection of photographs, *Sisters of the Ice* offers much of interest to readers of maritime, fur trade, and Indigenous histories. — *M.C. Reid*

Victoria Unbuttoned: A Red-Light History of BC's Capital City
by Linda J. Eversole
TouchWood Editions, 224 pages, $20

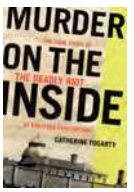
Linda J. Eversole's *Victoria Unbuttoned* offers a deep dive into the evolution of Victoria's red-light district. Eversole's background is as a historian, and much of her research involves court documents, government records, and newspapers.

The women's narratives that Eversole has pieced together from historical evidence are one of the strengths of the book. The narratives form part of nearly every chapter, and each of them tells about a woman who either ran, worked in, or otherwise came into contact with the brothels of historic Victoria. This is admirable work, since women — especially those involved with sex work — are often omitted from the historical record.

As Eversole highlights in her book, many of these women used pseudonyms or got married and then changed their names, making it very difficult to track them across censuses. We see this, for example, in the story of Nettie Sager, who disappears from the historical record just after her involvement in a criminal trial.

Victoria Unbuttoned is an important contribution to Canadian history. It not only adds a dimension of women's history to colonial Victoria but tells the stories of women who participated in sex work and were then tried as criminals — a topic that is commonly overlooked. — *Julia Richards*

Murder on the Inside: The Deadly Riot at Kingston Penitentiary
by Catherine Fogarty
Biblioasis, 335 pages, $24.95



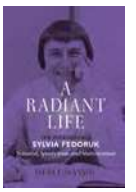
On April 14, 1971, the penitentiary at Kingston, Ontario, was overcrowded and severely understaffed. A small gang of disgruntled inmates seized this opportunity and instigated one of the largest prison riots Canada has ever seen. Taking six guards hostage, they demanded an end to dehumanizing incarceration conditions that included extreme isolation, severe punishments, and few rehabilitation programs.

The Kingston Penitentiary riot made headlines around the world, yet this pivotal moment in the history of rights for inmates in Canada has rarely been deconstructed. Released on the uprising's fiftieth anniversary, *Murder on the Inside*, written by television producer Catherine Fogarty, brings readers inside the limestone fortress and chronicles the moments during which the non-violent protest turned bloody.

Her book is painstakingly researched — which is a considerable feat, given the large holes in the archival record and the fact that few key players have been willing to talk. A sublime storyteller, Fogarty expertly builds tension as convicts turn violent and armed soldiers stand ready to attack.

However, *Murder on the Inside* is much more than a prison drama. Set against the backdrop of political and social upheaval, it details the history of the Kingston Penitentiary and scrutinizes incarceration in Canada. Most importantly, it tells a gripping story of inmates who were determined to be treated like humans, not numbers. — *Jessica Rose*

A Radiant Life: The Honourable Sylvia Fedoruk, Scientist, Sports Icon, and Stateswoman
by Merle Massie
University of Regina Press,
339 pages, $34.95



Playing girls' sports was one of the first contributions Sylvia Fedoruk made to her Ukrainian-Saskatchewan community. Then, as she furthered her education, she became a woman of note — not just for the small town of Canora, Saskatchewan, but for all of Canada.

Merle Massie's book *A Radiant Life* tells Fedoruk's story, starting with her parents' wedding and her birth in 1927. After graduating from the University of Saskatchewan in 1951, Fedoruk played a role in developing the first machine to successfully use radiation to treat cancer and was the first woman to join the Atomic Energy Control Board of Canada.

Meanwhile, Fedoruk continued her involvement with sports, both as

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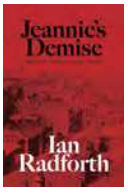
a competitor and as an organizer for women's curling. She also became the first female chancellor of the University of Saskatchewan and, in 1988, the first female Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan.

Massie is a Saskatchewan-based historian, farmer, and author who tells the story of Fedoruk's life with a narrative that not only highlights her great accomplishments but also her personality. Massie writes of Fedoruk: "With intelligence and wit, determination, some sarcasm and darkness, much warmth and grace, Sylvia was a whole woman who loved the province of her birth with a rare depth." Fedoruk received numerous honours before she died in 2012. — *Sydney Lockhart*

Jeannie's Demise:
Abortion on Trial in Victorian Toronto
by Ian Radforth
Between the Lines, 198 pages, $29.95



In 1875, Jeannie Gilmour was a young single Toronto woman who bristled against the social conventions that denied her the agency to make her own decisions about where to live and to work, or about the people with whom she could spend her time. While the circumstances surrounding her pregnancy remain a mystery, the circumstances of her death were violently clear.

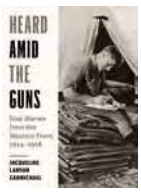
When abortions are illegal, the need for them does not disappear, only the access to safe procedures. And when service providers were unregulated, incompetent, and killed one of their clients, discreet disposal of the body was their paramount concern.

In Gilmour's case, she was not even afforded that courtesy. The discovery of her half-buried corpse eventually led to multiple arrests of people who were intimately involved or who were accessories after the fact.

In *Jeannie's Demise*, historian Ian Radforth presents the results of his detailed investigation of one backstreet abortion and its tragic consequences. While the book is sparsely illustrated, it's an absorbing read, and the included endnotes offer directions for possible further reading.

North American women today may have access to a safe abortion, but after witnessing recent events in the United States that right feels much more fragile now than it did just a few years ago. *Jeannie's Demise* is a disturbing reminder of how dangerous and lethal medical procedures can be when access to professional care is trumped by religious convictions and political agendas. — *Tanja Hütter*

Heard Amid the Guns:
True Stories from the Western Front, 1914–1918
by Jacqueline Larson Carmichael
Heritage House, 256 pages, $26.95



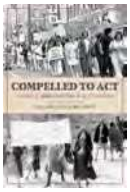
Heard Amid the Guns, by Jacqueline Larson Carmichael, is a poignant and easily accessible addition to an ever-growing library of books that focus on the human side of the "war to end all wars."

Carmichael, a journalist, was inspired to write her book after receiving a bundle of war letters penned by her grandfather, a First World War veteran. She has a reporter's knack for finding the "hook" in a story and then presenting it in a compelling and engaging way. Her book mines journals, letters, and memoirs of soldiers, nursing sisters, and others who served and presents their tales in an engaging vignette style.

Heard Amid the Guns is divided into ten chapters that explore topics such as wartime racism, the role of women both overseas and at home, and even the roles animals played during the conflict. The book features photographs and other images that enhance the presentation of the stories.

Both of Carmichael's grandfathers served in the First World War — and each was fortunate to have survived and to have returned home to Canada. Like many other veterans of that conflict, neither of the men spoke much about their wartime experiences. Thankfully, authors like Carmichael are doing the legwork in archives to find and to share our veterans' experiences with new generations of Canadians. — *M.C. Reid*

Compelled to Act:
Histories of Women's Activism in Western Canada
edited by Sarah Carter and Nanci Langford
University of Manitoba Press,
342 pages, $31.95



In the wake of the Idle No More movement, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, and the #MeToo movement, there has been a renewed interest in histories of women's activism. But there has been relatively little scholarship that focuses on the history of women's activism in Western Canada.

Compelled to Act is intended to address this gap. The book is a collection of essays, all but one of which stem from presentations made at a 2016 conference at the University of Alberta. Together, the essays delve into neglected areas of the history of women's activism and provide a fascinating exploration of some lesser-known topics.

One essay, by Stephanie Bangrath, tells of Japanese-Canadian women who contributed to community newspapers while they were incarcerated during the Second World War. Bangrath includes a clipping from one of the newspapers that presents a wartime recipe. Other contributors to the collection explore women's involvement with agricultural, religious, and social progress.

The volume is co-edited by Sarah Carter, who is a professor in the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta, and Nanci Langford, an academic coordinator in the Interdisciplinary Studies program at Athabasca University. — *Henrietta Roi*

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION Passengers aboard the Maple Leaf radio car listen in while travelling on the Canadian National Railway in 1929. The railway founded North America's first nationwide radio network, with transmitters along rail lines and studios in the company's hotels in different cities. The image appears along with photographs of wood-panelled radios, illustrations from catalogues, and lively advertisements in the book *Seeing, Selling, and Situating Radio in Canada, 1922–1956* (Dalhousie Architectural Press, 136 pages, $39.95) by Michael Windover and Anne F. MacLennan. The authors consider the ways radio reshaped Canadian society while showing how marketing and design were used to foster the adoption of the technology.

Vancouver Exposed: Searching for the City's Hidden History
by Eve Lazarus
Arsenal Pulp Press,
296 pages, $32.95

Vancouver Exposed is the latest book by award-winning author and journalist Eve Lazarus. Based on her popular blog *Every Place Has a Story*, the book is a collection of quirky stories about Vancouver's past that you likely haven't heard.

As Lazarus explains, "When people asked me what my blog was about, I told them it was about history and heritage houses and murder. But that really meant anything I thought was interesting — from street photographers to ghosts, research tips to legendary women, and others who are not typically found on the front page of newspapers."

This assortment of topics makes for an entertaining read — flip to any page, and you are virtually guaranteed to find a surprising story. From a mock funeral for a building, to the annual Polar Bear Swim, to a teenaged axe murderer, each tale uncovers the weird, wild, and wacky history of the city.

The book is filled with remarkable archival and contemporary photographs, while the layout and graphic design are as enthralling as the stories that fill its pages. Even if you're not from Vancouver, *Vancouver Exposed* provides an amusing study of the city that will inspire you to take a closer look at the history of the people and places in your own community. — *Brooke Campbell*

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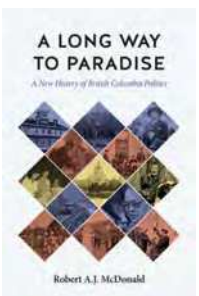

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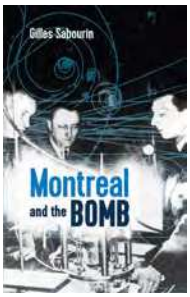

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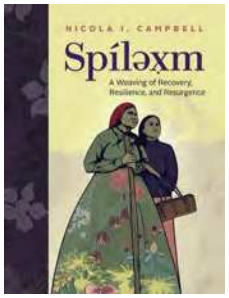

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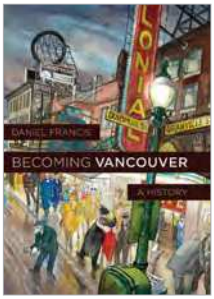

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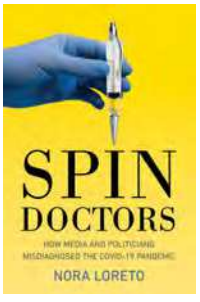

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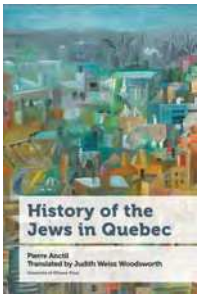

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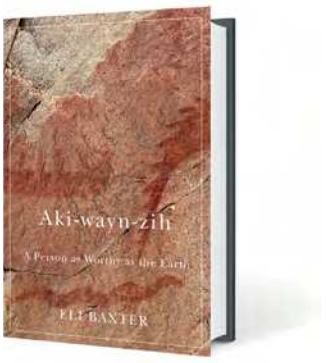

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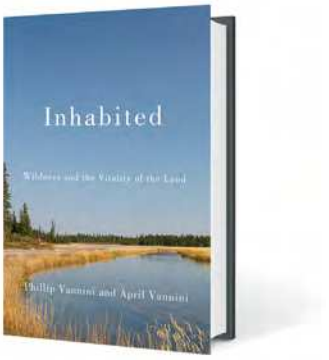

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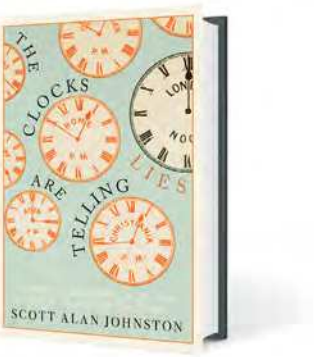

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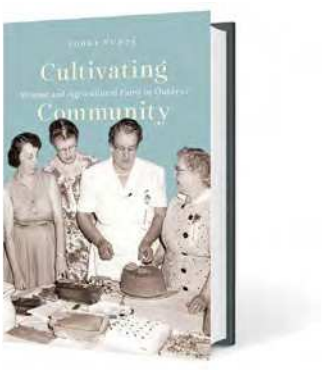

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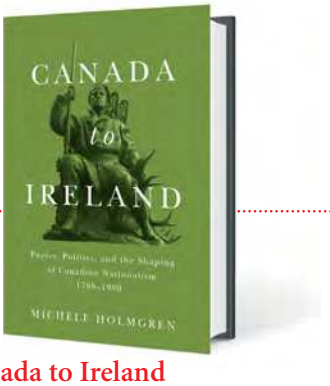

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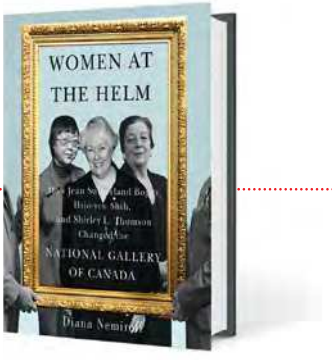

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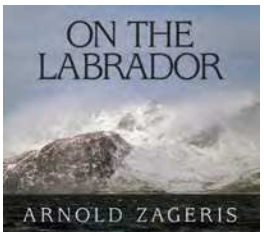

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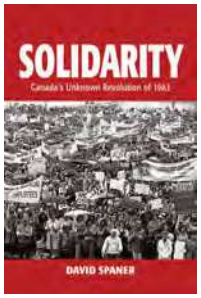

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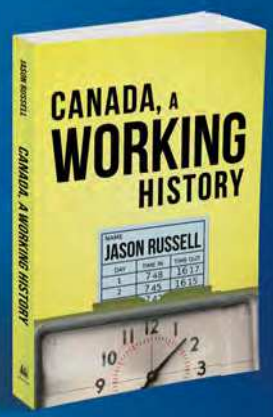

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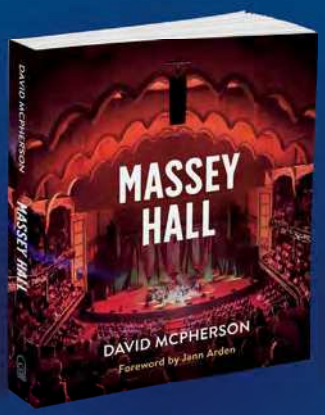

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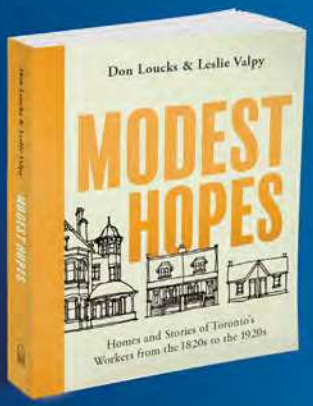

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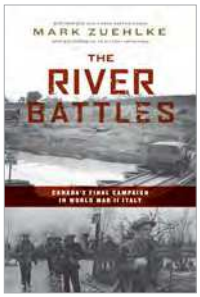

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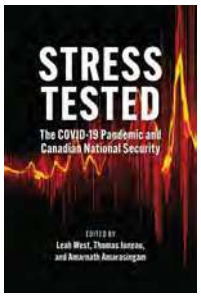

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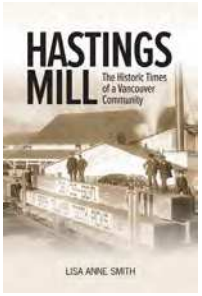

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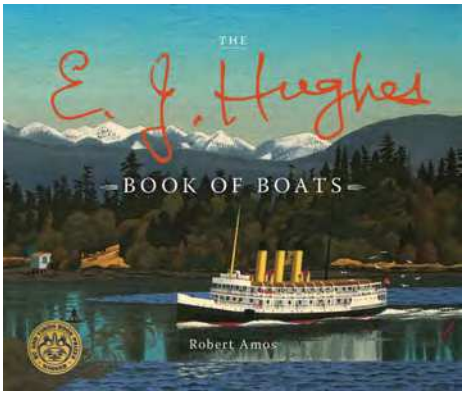

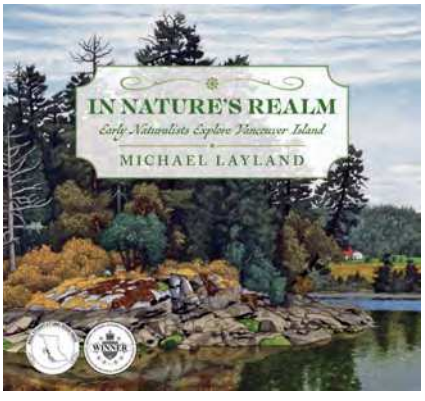

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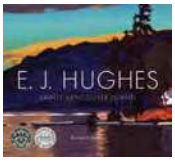

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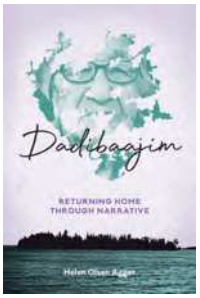

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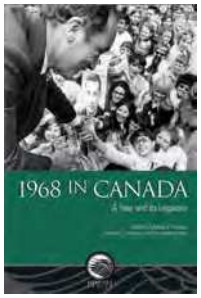

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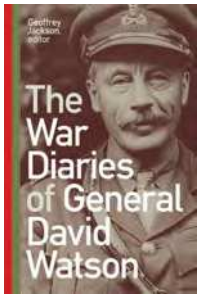

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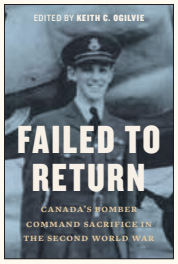

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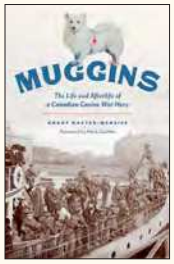

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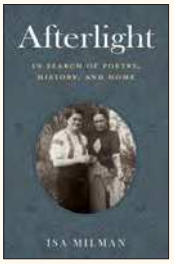

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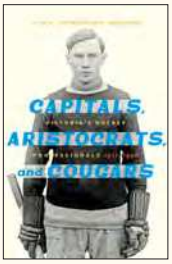

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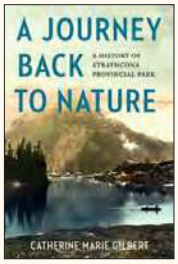

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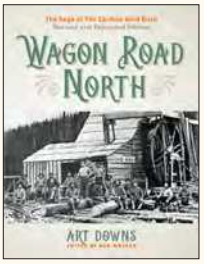

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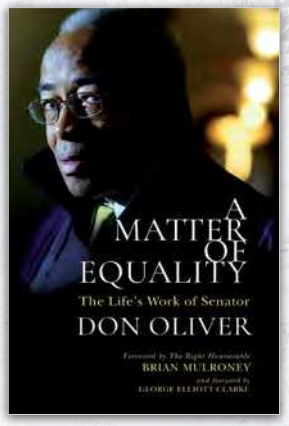

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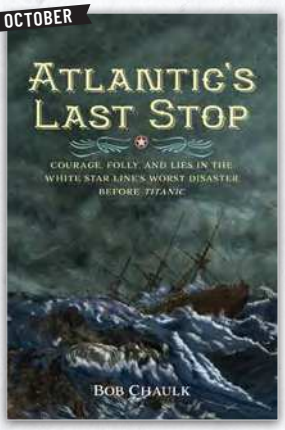

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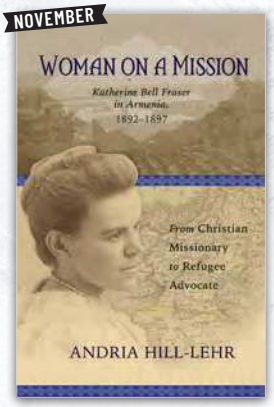

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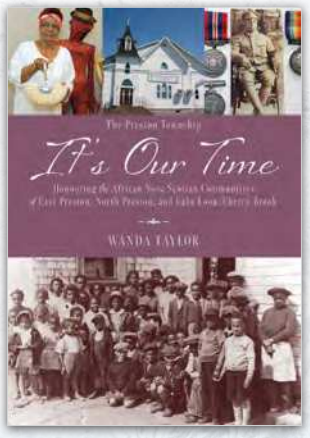

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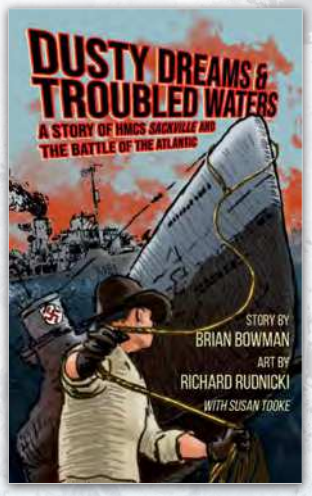

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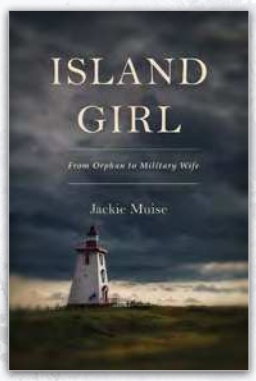

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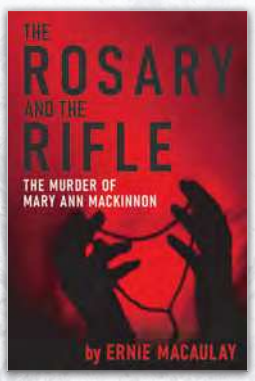

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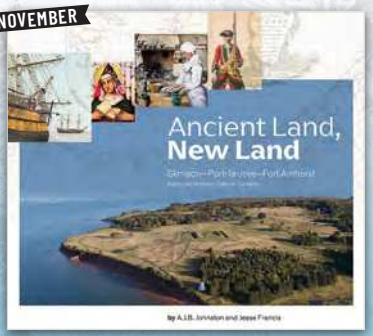

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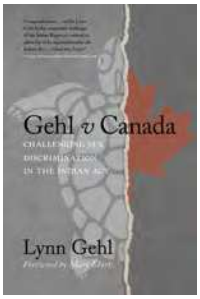

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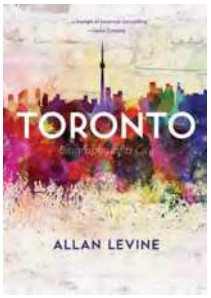

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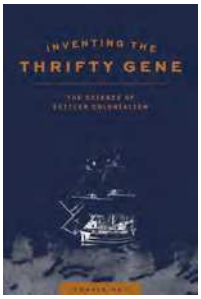

INVENTING THE THRIFTY GENE

The Science of Settler Colonialism

by Travis Hay

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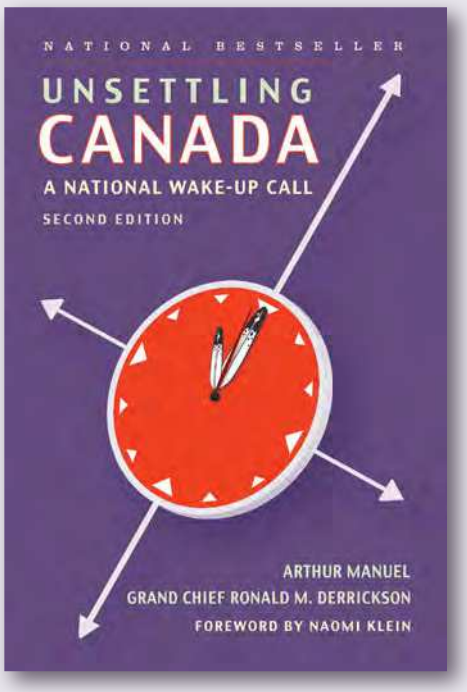

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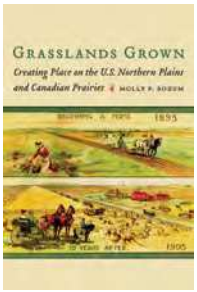

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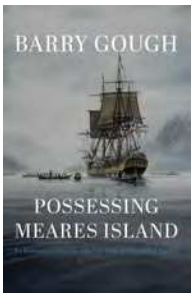

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Barry Gough

This fascinating account by an award-winning author and historian weaves a unique history out of the mists of time by connecting eighteenth-century Indigenous-colonial trade relations to more recent historical upheavals. *Possessing Meares Island* links early maritime history, Indigenous land rights and modern environmental advocacy in the Clayoquot Sound region.

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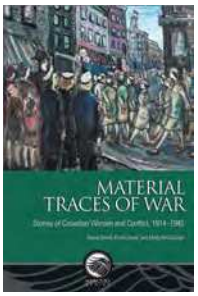

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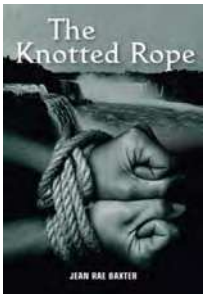

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BARRY SAMPSON

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This book documents the ideas and work of University of Toronto professor Barry Sampson, an instrumental part of architectural practice Baird Sampson Neuert. Focused on Sampson's 2019 Baird Lecture, the book also documents three projects illustrative of Sampson's approach to design and reflects on his diverse roles – teacher, practitioner, advocate, environmentalist, mentor, client, and builder – from notable architects, engineers, and colleagues.

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Qu'est-ce que la gentillesse? Un humain moyen, lorsqu'on lui posait cette question, n'y penserait pas beaucoup, mais pour un petit garçon vivant à Toronto nommé Ricky, la gentillesse signifie beaucoup. Pour lui, la gentillesse c'est partager le meilleur de nos cœurs avec ceux qui nous entourent
Chaque fois qu'il le peut, il fera de son mieux pour aider les gens autour de lui. Ses amis et sa famille l'appellent leur super-héros personnel.
Même pendant la pandémie et la quarantaine, Ricky a fait tout son possible pour aider son ami et sa famille. Le bonheur et le bien-être des autres ont toujours été la première priorité de Ricky.

Infectious stories

Award-winning teacher inspires students to record pandemic experiences. *by Brooke Campbell*

What do you want future generations to know about how you adapted to and lived through the COVID-19 pandemic?

That was the question Kathryn Whitfield, a teacher at Bloor Collegiate Institute in Toronto, asked her grade ten French class in the spring of 2021 as she tasked them with chronicling the unique experiences of young people during the pandemic. Whitfield asked her students to draw upon their own lives and to supplement their work with illustrations and images.

A recipient of the 2015 Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Teaching and a proponent of story-based projects, Whitfield knew there was tremendous value in asking her students to take a storytelling approach to this particular topic.

Inspiration first hit Whitfield at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, when she learned of a fellow Governor General's History Award-winning teacher's venture.

In 2020, Armand Doucet, a New Brunswick teacher and a recipient of the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Teaching in 2017, together with Elisa Guerra, an award-winning Mexican educator, wrote and published a free children's book titled *Hope, Where Are You?* The book tells the story of six children around the world who experience school closures due to COVID-19.

Whitfield immediately recognized an opportunity to enrich her story project by following Doucet and Guerra's approach. While *Hope, Where Are You?* focused on international perspectives, Whitfield's project aimed to share the perspectives and experiences of inner-city teenagers in Toronto.

Whitfield's students analyzed the progression of narratives and assessed how the characters in *Hope, Where Are You?* adapted to the changing world. They used a story-mapping model to develop their own tales and to craft their characters' responses to the pandemic.

Their efforts resulted in *À la recherche de l'espoir*, a two-hundred-page digital anthology that poignantly reveals the youth experience, with depth, openness and honesty.

By writing down their own experiences in the form of stories, the students came to understand that personal details make history approachable. Their stories are windows into their experiences, stirring emotion and fostering empathy in both their contemporaries and future readers.

Whitfield's project highlights the importance of empowering students. "Great teachers give students their own agency in the classroom," she said.

To read *À la recherche de l'espoir*, visit CanadasHistory.ca/InSearchOfHope.

Top left: An excerpt from "Ricky, Canada," by Tawsif M. The story is included in the anthology *À la recherche de l'espoir*. Top right: A part of "L'oiseau de nuit," by Ethan R., a story included in the same anthology. Above: Former Governor General David Johnston, right, presents Kathryn Whitfield with the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Teaching at a ceremony at Rideau Hall in Ottawa in 2015.

TOP LEFT AND TOP RIGHT: COURTESY KATHRYN WHITFIELD. BOTTOM RIGHT: MCPL VINCENT CARBONNEAU, RIDEAU HALL ©OSGG, 2015

Family celebration

With so much about Syrian refugees in the news in recent years, I was thinking about my grandparents Elias and Sadie David (Arabic name Dawood) who came to Canada in 1903. They were called Syrian, but they came from the village of Kafr Mishki in Lebanon.

This family photo was taken circa 1918 in Dymond Township near the town of New Liskeard (now part of Temiskaming Shores) in northeastern Ontario. My mother is the little girl in white, front and centre with the toothy grin. My grandfather is near the centre of the back row with a bushy moustache, and my grandmother is to the right side of the first row wearing a white blouse and holding a small bouquet. The celebration appears to be the wedding of my mom's older sister and her husband, the couple directly behind my mom.

In 1921 the family gave up on farming and moved north to Cochrane, Ontario, to start a retail womenswear business. My mother and her brother went on to run this business until they retired in 1975. In his book *New Liskeard: The Pioneer Years*, Bruce W. Taylor writes, "the Syrians who came to New Liskeard at the turn of the century were hard-working, innovative, incredibly entrepreneurial, and involved in their community."

Luckily for me, my grandparents didn't wait until 1912 to immigrate. Of all the Arabic immigrants aboard the *Titanic*, the ones from the village of Kafr Mishki suffered most in the ship's sinking. The village, whose population did not exceed five hundred, lost thirteen of its residents.

Submitted by Bill Biggs of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, grandson of Elias and Sadie David.

Do you have a black-and-white or colour photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location, details about people appearing in the photograph, and further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be adjusted for presentation in the magazine.

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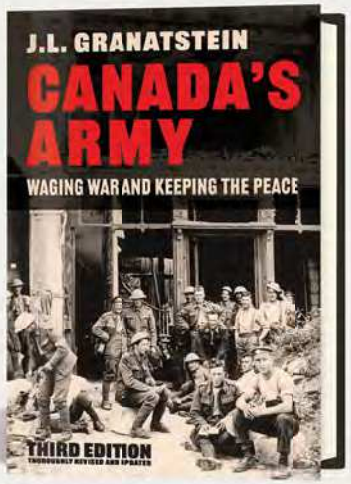

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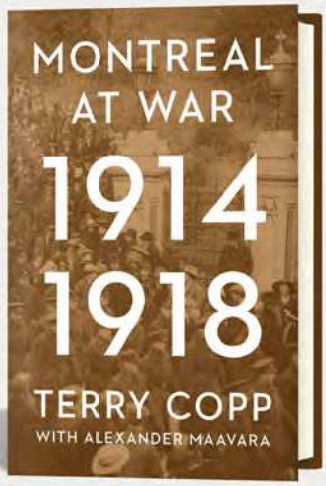

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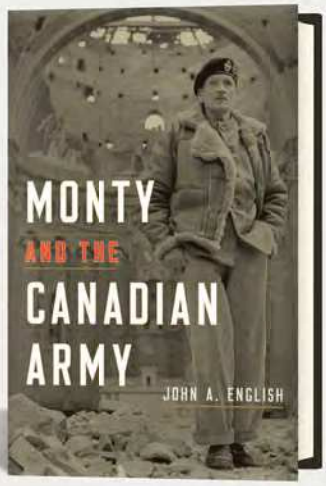

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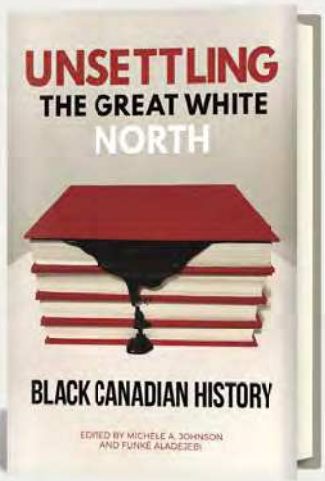

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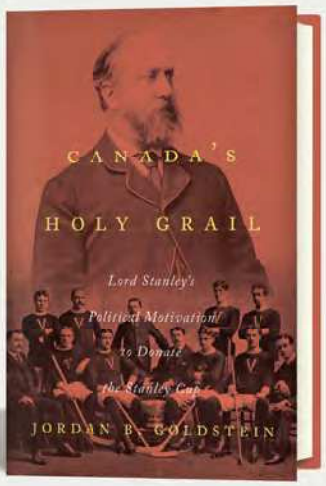

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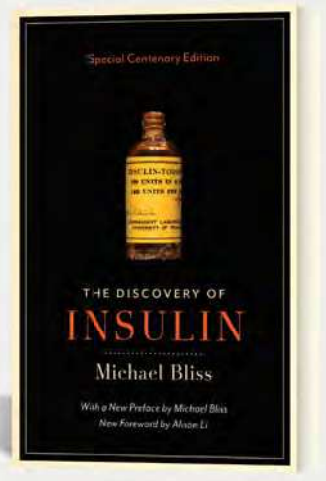

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